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CENTRAL ASIAN REVIEW

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A quarterly review of current developments
in Soviet Central Asia and
Kazakhstan.

The area covered in this Review embraces the five S.S.R. of Uzbekistan, Tadzhikistan, Kirgizia, Turkmenistan and Kazakhstan. According to Soviet classification "Central Asia" (Srednyaya Aziya) comprises only the first four of these, Kazakhstan being regarded as a separate area.

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CENTRAL ASIAN REVIEW aims at presenting a coherent and objective picture of current developments in the five Soviet Socialist Republics of Uzbekistan, Tadzhikistan, Kirgizia, Turkmenistan and Kazakhstan as these are reflected in Soviet publications, together with the historical background necessary in order to make such a picture intelligible.

In addition, the REVIEW analyses past and current Soviet publications on the countries bordering on or adjacent to Soviet Central Asia.

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Abbreviations

Abbreviations used in the Review when referring to the Soviet Academies of Sciences, and to newspapers and periodicals etc. employed as sources, are as follows :-

AN/SSSR	Akademiya Nauk (Academy of Sciences) of USSR
AN/Kaz. SSR	,, ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, Kazakh SSR
AN/Kirg. SSR	,, ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, Kirgiz SSR
AN/Tad. SSR	,, ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, Tadzhik SSR
AN/Turk. SSR	,, ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, Turkmen SSR
AN/Uzb. SSR	,, ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, Uzbek SSR
SAGU	Sredneaziatskiy Gosudarstvennyy Universitet (Central Asian State University)
KP	Kazakhstanskaya Pravda
KT	Kommunist Tadzhikistana
P	Pravda
PV	Pravda Vostoka
SK	Sovetskaya Kirgiziya
SU	Soviet Union
SV	Sovetskoye Vostokovedeniye
TI	Turkmenskaya Iskra
VVS	Vedomosti Verkhovnogo Soveta

CENTRAL ASIAN REVIEW, Vol. VI, No. 3.

Owing to an oversight the following imprint was omitted from the map of Afghanistan facing page 285 :

> Reproduced with due acknowledgment from *Afghanistan* by W. K. Fraser-Tytler, and published by the Oxford University Press (1953).

POLITICAL AND CULTURAL AFFAIRS

ACCENT ON CULTURE

From the beginning of 1959 certain changes are being introduced into CENTRAL ASIAN REVIEW: the REVIEW will concentrate on cultural developments and will no longer concern itself with economic affairs.

The original aim of the REVIEW was to present "a coherent picture of political, social and material developments" in Central Asia, and in the first two volumes (1953 and 1954) there were separate sections devoted to agriculture, industry, communications, public works and services, and political and cultural affairs. From Volume III (1955) the aim was described simply as the presentation of "a coherent and objective picture of current developments". From No.2 of Volume IV (1956) the scope was extended to include the "Borderlands Series", described as an analysis of past and current Soviet publications on the countries bordering on or adjacent to Soviet Central Asia. At the same time, the number of articles on economic and industrial subjects was somewhat reduced; but in order to keep abreast of economic developments, the section called "News Items" and later "News Digest" was extended.

This decision to deal less with economic developments and more with those relating to culture was largely dictated by the unmistakable tendency for economic affairs in Central Asia to assume an all-Union pattern having little reference to the particular desires or aims of the local population. Superficially the Regional Economic Councils introduced during 1957 might have been expected to halt this trend and to result in republics developing their economies on different lines. In fact, however, it now seems clear that whatever new names are used, the Soviet economy will remain an indivisible whole and that the new arrangements will merely result in closer supervision by the Communist Party.

The Editors are aware that Soviet economy as a whole is studied and reported on by a number of academic organizations in Europe and the United States with a competence to which they lay no claim. Quite apart from this and also from the irrelevance of many aspects of economic developments to the study of Central Asia as an ethnographic entity, there are new and cogent reasons for devoting far more attention to cultural problems than has hitherto been possible within the small compass of CAR. Since 1955 the Soviet Union has taken an increased interest and is playing an increasingly important part in the affairs of South-west Asia - Perednyaya Aziya as the Russians

call it. One reason for this increased interest which is often overlooked was clearly stated in IZVESTIYA during April 1955: "It goes without saying that the Soviet Union cannot be indifferent to the situation taking shape in the Middle East, since the formation of blocs and the creation of foreign military bases in the Middle East countries have a direct bearing on the security of the Soviet Union. The Soviet Government's position should be all the more understandable because the Soviet Union is situated in close proximity to these countries, which cannot be said of other foreign powers."

Geographically there is nothing new in this situation; ever since the second half of the last century the southern fringe of Russia, from the Caspian to Outer Mongolia, has been peopled by millions of Muslims with strong cultural and racial ties with peoples over the border in Persia, Afghanistan and Sinkiang. Before the Revolution - and indeed until quite recently - this phenomenon had little effect on the conduct of Russian policy in South-west Asia. Cultural contacts between the Russian Muslims and those of other countries were not encouraged by the Tsarist government, although there was a considerable va et vient across the southern frontiers, and Russian Muslims went every year in large numbers of make their pilgrimage in Mecca and other holy places of Islam. Since the Revolution there has from time to time been talk of using the eastern republics of the USSR as a kind of cultural bridge between the Soviet Union and the countries of South-west Asia; but there were certain considerations which made the pursuance of this idea impracticable, and early attempts to attract into Soviet territory communities of Azerabydzhanis, Turkmens, Uzbeks, and Tadzhiks inhabiting Persia and Afghanistan met with no success and were to all intents and purposes discontinued. Again the kind of nationalism to which the countries of South-west Asia were aspiring was clearly something quite different from that which had been arbitrarily applied to the peoples of Central Asia and Transcaucasia. This difference was no doubt widened by the constant stream of hostile propaganda directed by the Soviet Government against the rulers of these countries.

At the time of the XXth Party Congress held in February 1956, it became apparent that the Soviet Government and the Communist Party were again considering ways and means by which the eastern republics could be used to further Soviet policy in South-west Asia. The events of 1956 in the Middle East must have shown the Soviet Government that the chances of the Soviet Union profiting by the new wave of anti-Western feeling in the Middle East had greatly increased. But certain developments in east Europe and inside the USSR caused them to exercise considerable caution as far as the Muslim nationalities were concerned.

During the past year there have been a number of indications that every effort is now being made to realize Stalin's original aim of using the Muslims

of the USSR in developing Soviet influence in Asia as a whole. The use will presumably be exclusively cultural for, in spite of the full sovereignty claimed for the eastern republics, there has never been any question of any direct diplomatic or commercial contact between them and the independent states on whose frontiers they lie.

It may be expected that the Soviet Government will continue to move with great circumspection in the development of direct contact of any kind between the Muslims of the Union and other countries. There is much in the economic progress of Central Asia and Transcaucasia which must give rise to envy on the part of the rulers of the adjacent independent states. Some of them might well begin to wonder whether these developments could not be imitated by themselves. There is indeed much that they could imitate with great advantage to their people, for instance, in popular and technical education. But closer observation which would come as a result of closer contacts might show them that there are in Central Asia certain problems similar to those with which they have been confronted in their own countries, but which have been dealt with by the Soviet Government in a way which would not accord with their own national aspirations. For instance, pan-Arab nationalism is a cause which lies very close to the hearts of many Arabs today, and one which the Soviet Government has recently decided to support, although it previously stigmatized it as a tool of British imperialism. There is in Central Asia a problem which bears close resemblance to that of pan-Arabism, namely, pan-Turkism. This is often represented in Soviet writings as a movement invented by British and American imperialists and one designed to place Turkey at the head of the Turkic peoples of the world. Quite apart from any prompting or leadership by "Western imperialism" or Turkey, which is in fact quite mythical, there has for many generations been the cultural bond of union among the Turks of Central Asia, the Volga region and the Caucasus, which bears a close analogy to the bond of union operating among the Arab peoples of North Africa and the Middle East. But whereas the Soviet Union now points to the extraordinary prevalence of the Arabic language as a reason for Arab unity, it has used every means in its power to accentuate the differences between the various Turkic languages used in the Soviet Union.

It is the potential importance of the cultural affinities and the prospect of closer cultural contacts between the eastern republics of the USSR and South-west Asia, which impels the Editors to concentrate on cultural rather than on economic developments. The interpretation of culture which they propose to adopt will be one designed to throw as much light as possible on the way of life of the indigenous populations, and the role that they as individuals are playing in the development of their respective areas. It will include not only the obvious subjects of history, the arts, linguistics and education, but also ethnography, communications and irrigation, all of which have an important bearing on cultural developments. Another important change

in CAR will be the extension of its scope to include the Azerbaydzhan SSR. In future, therefore, the purpose of the REVIEW may broadly be defined as the study of cultural developments in the six Muslim Union Republics of Azerbaydzhan, Uzbekistan, Tadzhikistan, Kirgizia, Turkmenistan and Kazakhstan, and of Soviet publications on the adjacent countries of Persia, Afghanistan, the Indian sub-continent and the Sinkiang-Uygur Autonomous Region.

Modernizing scientific research in Uzbekistan

The research institutes of the Uzbek Academy of Sciences are providing their laboratories with up-to-date equipment for research in subjects connected with physics and astronomy, including photographic and recording appliances. A chromospheric-photographic telescope has been installed at the observatory, and also a short-focus camera similar to the one used to photograph the third Soviet earth satellite. TI. 21st August 1958

President of Tadzhik Academy of Sciences honoured

The honorary title of "Worker of Merit" has been conferred by the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of Tadzhikistan on S.U. Umarov on his fiftieth birthday and in recognition of his long services as president of the Tadzhik Academy of Sciences. KT. 24th August 1958

New children's hospital at Stalinabad

A new hospital for combined curative and preventive treatment was opened in Stalinabad on 4th August. The hospital is the best in the republic. KT. 6th August 1958

POLITICAL AND CULTURAL AFFAIRS

WHAT AN ATHEIST SHOULD KNOW ABOUT THE QURAN+

By

Professor L. Klimovich

Professor L. Klimovich is a well-known writer on Islamic subjects and author of a monograph published in February 1958 called ISLAM: ITS ORIGIN AND SOCIAL CHARACTER. The present article is useful as evidence of the continuing hostility with which the Communist Party still regards the fundamentals of Islam, and also of the wide difference between the Soviet official views on Islam as expressed to the Muslims of the USSR and to those of the outside world. The article is headed "For the assistance of propagandists and agitators", meaning of course those concerned with internal propaganda; it could not but give great offence to any practising Muslim and is in marked contrast to the tone of respect which Soviet propaganda adopts when addressing the Arabs and other Muslim peoples on the subject of Islam.

It is a matter of considerable interest that after a generation of anti-Islamic propaganda the Soviet authorities should still find it necessary to engage in sweeping condemnation of the Quran to the Kazakhs on whom Islam has always sat somewhat lightly, and to whom even before the Revolution the Quran was of less significance than to many of the more settled and urbanized Central Asian peoples.

Many religions have so-called sacred books which contain legends about a god, or gods, their prophecies and evangelists, the creation of the world and of

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+ From the periodical KAZAKHSTAN, Alma-Ata, June 1958, No.6.

man, and in which are set forth religious injunctions and codes of laws. The sacred book of Islam - the Muslim religion - is the Quran (in Arabic Qur'an means "reading").

According to Muslim dogma the Quran was not created, but existed without a source, its celestial original being preserved under the throne of Allah. The contents of the book were made known to men, it is said, by the prophet Muhammad, to whom they were communicated by the angel Jibra'il (Gabriel). In the countries where Islam is the state religion, legislation - the sharia - proceeds from the regulations of the Quran: oaths and vows are taken upon it. Believers regard the book as a talisman which possesses miraculous power. The Quran and its interpretation (tafsir) are the chief subjects of the programme of the religious schools of Turkey, Pakistan, Iraq and several other countries.

The actual provenance of the Quran has nothing in common with the religious tenet of its"eternal existence". The book was composed at the time of the constitution of Islam as a religion, about 1,300 years ago.

Islam arose in Arabia at the beginning of the seventh century of our era, when a union of the Arabian tribes took place; and before long there appeared in this religion records of a liturgical and legislative character. With the spread of Islam there arose the necessity for the composition of a code of such records in the form of a book, "a reading", that is, the Quran. This book was composed by the feudal aristocracy who were in power.

The Quran has 114 chapters and is written in rhythmical Arabic prose. But there is no unity of style in it. About a quarter of the book is taken up by legends of prophets. Essentially these are myths, slightly altered, borrowed from religions more ancient than Islam, and from their sacred books. Thus the Quran contains stories about the biblical prophets Moses, Joseph the Handsome, Jonah, Jesus, and others.

The Muslim clergy asserts that there are no cnntradictions in the Quran. In fact there are very many. Inasmuch as the book has had attributed to it not only a religious but also a legislative significance, as to an "Arabic code of law" (13, 37)+ the necessity has arisen for the elucidation of these contradictions. This problem has become especially complicated since, together with the Quran, there has appeared the literature of the Muslim

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+ Here and below the first figure in brackets refers to the chapter of the Quran, and the second to the verse.

tradition (sunna) and the code of law (sharia), and since it has been necessary to justify by means of the Quran innovations to which life has given rise. In connection with this a special theological theory was formed, called naskh, which divided all the verses of the Quran into "abrogating" and "abrogated". Gradually there began to be destroyed in the book the chronological succession and the sequence of sense in the material set forth.

The Quran offends also by other imperfections, many of which had attention drawn to them in the Middle Ages by advanced writers of the Near East. In particular it wrongly explains the origin of the universe, of the earth, and of man.

It is vain to seek in the Quran for information about those important achievements in science and culture made before its composition not only in China and India, Egypt and Greece, but also in the ancient southern and northern states of Arabia. If the book does contain important borrowings from the works of ancient peoples about the world, then these are chiefly religious myths which contain fantastic information about man and the nature which surrounds him.

According to the Quran Allah said "Be!" and "the heavens and the earth" appeared (6, 72), the earth being created in six days. Allah "created seven heavens (setting) one to arch over another" (67, 3). Out of the seven heavens he "adorned the lowest heaven with stars, and set them there to ward off the devils" (67, 5). God "bade it (the heaven) produce the darkness of night, and made it produce the glow of dawn" (79, 29).

But however perfectly the heavens were arranged by God, the book says, the possibility of their "pieces falling was not precluded" (17, 94). In these words there is visible an attempt to account for the phenomenon of the so-called "falling stars" - meteors, that is. The fall of one of such heavenly bodies was witnessed on the morning of 25th December 1957, by many of the inhabitants of southern Kazakhstan and northern Kirgizia. But in the far-distant time when the Quran was composed such a phenomenon of nature seemed a singular, marvellous apparition; therefore the composers of the book ascribed the fall of such "pieces" - that is, meteorites - to a sign of the judgment of the Lord.

The limitedness of the view of the authors of the Quran is shown also by their representation of the earth as an immovable plane. The earth, we read in the book, was overspread by God with a carpet (51, 48), he set upon it "mountain fastnesses", that it might not be shaken with people, and laid on it rivers and roads, that men might go by straight paths (16, 15).

Science has long ago cast aside the naïve notions of ancient peoples -

that the earth, that nature which surrounds us, that the universe, had their "creator". Matter and energy, all that terrestrial and celestial bodies consist of, the whole world, are indestructible, and consequently can never have been created by anyone. The universe is eternal.

The Quran's teaching on the origin of man and of animals fully corresponds with its notions of those of the universe and the earth. "God", the book says, "created all animals out of water; of them some go on their belly, some walk on two feet, and some on four. God creates as he desires" (24, 44). Having created "beasts of every kind" God "scattered" them over the surface of the earth (2, 159 et seqq).

However fantastic this affirmation is, it is not fortuitous in connecting everything with water. Water has always had an enormous economic significance in men's lives. This was especially well-known to the Arabs, and to other peoples living in deserts.

In seven passages in the book it is related how Allah created man. In one place it is told how God created him out of earth; in another, out of clay; in a third, only out of the substance of clay; in a fourth, out of dry clay, which "rang"; in a fifth, out of sticky, damp clay; in a sixth, out of stinking "potter's clay"; and in the seventh, out of water. These contradictions bear witness to the fact that the Quran was not composed all at one time, and that not one person was its author.

The Quran denies all conformity in nature and in society, substituting for it the formulas "God creates as he desires", "the accomplisher of that which he shall wish" (85, 16). The existence of human society is explained only by the arbitrary will of Allah. So in the Quran it is written, in the name of Allah, "I created the jinns and mankind only in order that they might do obeisance to me" (51, 56). The confusion which is contained here about the world as it really exists is worth noting. What is said about mankind is said also about the jinns, the "spirits", created by the imagination of ancient man, and later adopted by Islam.

The authors of the Quran did not understand that the phenomena of nature are connected with each other not by the will of a god but by an established, natural necessity. If there were no objective system of laws there would be no conditions for the development of life, for the existence of man; scientific foresight, also, would be impossible. At the time when the Quran was composed men could not yet explain many natural phenomena correctly, and therefore believed that everything depended on the will of a deity.

Arising at a time when a classic, feudal society was established, the Quran condemns certain usages of a preceding, primitive system of community.

The blood-feud it calls "a bad custom" or "the wrong path", as it does marriage between near relations; and it protests against the custom of burying in the earth a newly-born child, if the first child born to a family is a daughter. Yet at the same time the Quran approves of an unjust relationship between people in a class-society. It teaches that a woman is a less perfect creature than a man, and she is held down from the point of view both of property and of rights. The rules of Muslim marriage, too, were correspondingly developed in accordance with this reading, for they legitimized polygamy, the marriage of young girls, the selling of brides, the levying of mahr (the kalym or bride price), various forms of the seclusion of women, and the keeping of women away from social life.

The views of the Quran on social life, so far as the development of human society is concerned, are extremely pessimistic. According to the Quran the happy period in the history of humanity is in the past. It existed, the Quran says, in paradise, where the legendary Adam and his wife knew no hunger nor nakedness. This myth of the golden age which men have lost distorts the history of humanity, and lowers the value of life and the importance of human labour.

The Quran reduces man's worth and his intelligence. However much man tries, the book instructs, he will create nothing good, "for life in this world is a deceptive pleasure, seduction, empty finery, vanity. . ." (57, 19). And whoever "has sown for this life. . . shall have no portion in the life to come" (42, 19).

The ideals of the Quran have nothing in common with humanism, with an understanding of man's lofty social role, with people's noble yearnings towards toil that is collective and socially useful, towards friendship and the collaboration of different nations. According to its teaching a man must turn all his desires towards a non-existent life which, it says, will come after death.

In the myth of heaven and hell is pictured man's life beyond the grave. In heaven, we are told, there will be no sin nor any violent heat, but there will be much moisture and shade: but in hell there will be tempests of flame. There sinners "will be between the sultry simoon and boiling water, in a cloud of black smoke; they shall have neither coolness nor comfort" (56, 41-43).

Inasmuch as Islam is the religion of a class-society, its teaching about reward after death is subordinated to the interests of the exploiters. In the course of ages it has served the power of the possessors, as a means of transforming the toilers into slaves without any will. The harder, the more inescapable the situation of the exploited in the actual world, the more picturesque and alluring does their theology depict their imaginary paradise

to be.

According to the Quran, even Islam is one religion for the representatives of power, the exploiters and masters of slaves, feudal lords and merchants, and another for the poor and oppressed. The former must be obedient only to God and to his representative; the latter to God, to his representative, and, beside that, to the exploiters who are in a position of power (4, 62).

The Quran speaks resolutely in defence of private property. It teaches that those who do not possess may not even attempt to alter their burdensome situation by means of any attempt at all upon the property of the rich. "Gaze not with thine eyes", the book teaches, "on those goods which we (Allah) allot to certain families. . ." (2, 131). Beggary, grievous suffering, social injustice, slavery, etc. - all these, according to the Quran, are benefits from God.

A large place in the teaching of Islam is taken by predestination, according to which all the desires and actions of men are determined by Allah beforehand. Representing man as without will, the Quran announces: "men can desire only that which God wishes" (81, 29); they have "no freedom of choice" (28, 68). The book denies freedom to the human will, and the independence of the individual, and, by the same token, it denies also the part played by a people as a genuine creator of history, the maker of everything that is materially and spiritually valuable. If in certain passages of the Quran it is said, too, that a man can act otherwise than as Allah teaches, this is said only in the form of a threat: act, it says, in your own way, and you may expect punishment - God will not spare you.

The religious teaching, by which it is laid down that humanity shall live in a society in which the minority oppresses the majority, has nothing in common with historical experience, or with a correct understanding of the laws of social development. It is refuted by history, by the victory of the great socialist October Revolution, by the fact of the formation of the mighty camp of socialist countries.

The time goes back into the distant past when men were divided by the spectres of nationalism and religion, and quarrelled with each other. In our days both atheists and men of different faiths - Muslims, Christians, Buddhists, Hindus, and followers of other cults - unite their powers in the struggle for peace, for national liberty, and for democracy in all countries. They all co-operate with each other in virtue of the demands for life, in virtue of their own lofty desires and feelings. These people have raised themselves very much above those laws and customs of antiquity, by which the followers of different religions might not eat or drink together, nor speak to each other: atheists were outside the law.

None the less one must not forget that the teaching which rests upon the Quran - the teaching of "the holy war for the faith" (jihad, ghazawat) - is made use of in our time by colonizers for kindling discord among peoples of the Islamic confession. To further their interested aims the colonists also use the appeals contained in the Quran to "the brotherhood of all Muslims", and try to obscure the consciousness of believing Muslims with unscientific assertions that they are "one nation" and that "among Muslims there are no classes and no class struggle".

The preachers of Islam, praising the teaching of the Quran, say that it condemns certain crimes - stealing, for example. In so far as the Quran had, as we have observed, the significance of a code of law, it naturally included injunctions as well. But the question must be asked, what is the nature of these injunctions. Are they directed towards the eradication of those causes which, in the conditions of an antagonistic, class society, urge people to the commission of crimes - stealing - or are they confined only to the task of the protection of private property?

One of the verses of the Quran runs: "From the thief and the female thief cut the hand, as a requital for what they have done, and as an edification from God". The sharia explains that the thief's right hand is to be cut off even if what is stolen has the value only of a fourth part of a dinar - a gold coin. It follows that if a poor man, or a beggar, under threat of starvation, has stolen a piece of meat in the bazaar, or a loaf, then, according to the sharia, he must be deprived of his right hand.

Of course stealing is a crime and must be severely punished. But can the punishment prescribed by the Quran and the sharia contribute to the eradication of theft? In the countries where the sharia obtains, that punishment has been used for many centuries, but to this day theft has not been got rid of.

The experience of history teaches that in a society of exploiters the roots of mass crime find their means of nourishment in the very system itself which is founded on the exploitation of man by man, and are concealed in the unemployment and beggary of the broad layers of the population. Therefore it is only by the liquidation of the exploiting classes and the annihilation of beggary and unemployment that the soil in which mass crime grows can be removed.

It is not possible in a short article to examine the whole contents of the Quran in any detail; but from what has been said it is obvious that its teaching and dogma have nothing in common with the laws and instructions which defend the interests of the workers, based as they are on science and on high moral principles. Therefore there can be no compromise between

science and Islam, any more than with any other religion.

There have recently appeared in capitalist countries new interpretations of the Quran which have as their object to accommodate its worn-out religious notions to the demands of a bourgeois society. They deal with the ideas of Allah, of heaven and hell, of the resurrection of the dead. According to the new interpretation of the Quran all the "delights" and "terrors" of the life beyond the grave are merely allegorical, and express the experiences of "the soul". Yet the essence of the teaching is not changed. As before there remains the inviolable belief that a man has an immaterial double - "a soul".

Some of the contemporary apologists for Islam are trying also to make use of the Quran to bring to life again long-refuted views which reflect the anxiety of the exploiting classes about their own future, and their efforts to divert the masses of the people from the urgent social problems before them. Thus K. Jamil, a Pakistani savant, in his dissertation "Philosophy and Religion", read at the Fourth Pakistani Philosophical Congress at Dacca in 1957, relying on the reasoning of the Quran about the reconciliation of science with religion, issued a summons "to liberate humanity from the ever-increasing influence of materialism".

New forms of the use of the Quran are encouraged by the representatives of those circles in Western Europe and America who are frightened by the current collapse of the colonial system of imperialism. These circles cannot but recognize that Islam, a mediaeval ideology, which has strengthened a basis of feudalism, does not correspond to many of the problems and demands of the capitalist system. They see likewise that in the conditions of the rise of the national liberation movement in the countries of the East, no small part of the Muslim clergy is supporting the struggle against the colonizers. The representatives of bourgeois circles are ready to promote further reforms of Islam in order to preserve it as a profitable spiritual weapon with which the colonizers may enslave the masses.

For this reason articles have appeared in the bourgeois press treating of the Quran in some sort as "religious socialism", proclaiming its teaching as the sole means of resolving class-contradictions, and as a panacea for social troubles, etc. Like the preachers of the notorious "Christian socialism" such exploiters of the Quran are trying to deceive the workers, and are using for that the word "socialism" which is dear to the hearts of millions of people.

In the eastern countries beyond our frontiers, and especially in those which have achieved political independence and are struggling for peace and progress, forces have risen, and are growing ever more powerful, which are carrying on the fight against injustice, routine and stagnation. The times in which it was thought that a knowledge of the Quran was the highest virtue and

a sign of culture, have gone by. From this point of view the observations made by the Czechoslovak engineers, I. Ganzelka and M. Siegmund, who travelled to Libya in 1947, are of interest. There appeared in that country, which achieved its independence as a state in 1951, ordinary Muslims who, so Ganzelka and Siegmund write, dared, when surrounded, it is true, by intimate friends, to attack the inviolable dogmas of the Quran. "We don't want people who know the Quran by heart" - the Czech travellers more than once heard the indignant criticism from the mouth of the eighteen-year-old Salim Shatani. "We haven't enough doctors, engineers, builders, agronomists. We don't know how to drive motor-cars; we don't know how to make them. We can turn a switch, but we don't know why the electric lamp goes on. We need teachers, who, instead of the Quran would tell us about democratic constitutions or about the technique for producing coloured film."

Life is convincing an ever increasing number of people in the Near and Middle East that the publications of the American and Western European bourgeois press, with their declarations and doctrines about their patronage of Islam, are nothing but a trick of propaganda, whose object is the camouflage of new intrigues of the colonizers. The peoples of Asia and Africa can judge of the real value of such "patronage" from such facts as the Anglo-Franco-Israeli aggression against Egypt, the filthy war of the French imperialists in Algeria, of the English in Oman and the Yemen, in the south of Arabia, and the new machinations of the imperialists of the United States of America in the eastern Mediterranean and other areas of the Near and Middle East. All these speak of the fact that in our times "men often take God as a screen in order to use the faith of believers to deceive. Well, that is simply pharisaism" (N.S. Khrushchev. Interview with W.R. Hearst, head of the newspaper publishing trust. PRAVDA, 29th November 1957).

Only on the basis of scientific knowledge, and not of religious dogmas and teaching set out in so-called sacred books, which reflect the erroneous views and notions of ancient peoples, is it possible to evaluate correctly the past, present and future of humanity, and to secure the fullest use of the riches of nature in the interests of mankind. Removing the obstructions from its path, what is new and progressive is on its way forward, widely illuminating the road for all who have risen to struggle for the triumph of intelligence, justice and equality of rights, for peace, democracy and socialism.

In connection with Western propaganda to the effect that there is no freedom of religion in the USSR and that the state interferes in religious affairs, our correspondent asked the Imam to express his views on this subject. The

Imam said: "All these allegations have nothing in common with truth. Freedom of religion, i.e. freedom to worship or not to worship, is guaranteed by the constitution. There are special clauses in the Soviet penal code providing severe punishment to all those who obstruct the freedom of worship. In the USSR all religions, including the Muslem faith, are separate from the state. This means that religion does not interfere in state affairs."

From an interview with the chief Imam of the Moscow mosque, Kamarattin Salikhov, Radio Moscow (Near Eastern Service in Turkish), 24th May 1958.

In forty years. . . the development of culture and science has helped free the wide circles of the population of the Soviet Union from religion. This process was exceptionally striking in the areas where Islam has spread. . . However, the process of overcoming religious remnants cannot be considered as developing smoothly. . These remnants of the distant past must not exist in our socialist state. We cannot reconcile ourselves. . . to the remnants of a society of exploiters which humiliate the dignity of human beings. It is clear, comrades, that under our conditions, Islam, like any other religion, is a remnant of a society which the Soviet people have left far behind.

From a radio address by Professor L.I. Klimovich, "Modern Islam", Radio Moscow (Home Service), 22nd May 1958.

Atheist literature

During 1957 a relatively small number of booklets on "an anti-religious theme" were published in Central Asia. In Tadzhikistan only one was published, in Kazakhstan and Kirgizia two, in Turkmenistan three and in Uzbekistan four.

KOM. 1958, No.7

Growth of Stalinabad's public library

There are now 1,800,000 books in the Stalinabad public library.

KT. 1st May 1958

HISTORY

THE PEOPLES OF CENTRAL ASIA

Since its first appearance, CENTRAL ASIAN REVIEW has published a number of articles dealing with different aspects of the way of life followed by some of the various peoples inhabiting Central Asia. From time to time requests have been received for a more comprehensive historical study of these peoples and the appearance of a new book on the ethnography of the peoples of the USSR+ provides a good occasion to embark on such a study based not only on this work, but on material from all other available sources.

The following article is a historical introduction to a series of studies of the principle peoples of the region, namely, the Uzbeks, Tadzhiks, Turkmens, Kirgiz, Kazakhs and Kara-Kalpaks which will appear in ensuing numbers of the REVIEW. Such an introduction is essential for a proper understanding of the different cultural and national problems which are continuing to complicate life for the people of this important but little-known region.

Subsequent articles will deal with the past and present way of life of the various peoples. Full analyses of the available statistical data can be found in the articles on population in CAR, Vol.III, No.2 and Vol.V, No.2.

CENTRAL ASIA - A HISTORICAL OUTLINE

Introduction - The ancient states of Central Asia - Turks and Arabs - The Mongols - Timur and the Timurids - The Uzbeks - Tsarist and Soviet Rule.

Central Asia's historical past is complicated and difficult to unravel. It lay on the great route along which peoples flowed from east to west for many

+ ETHNOGRAFIYA NARODOV SSSR, edited by S.A. Tokarev, Moscow, 1958.

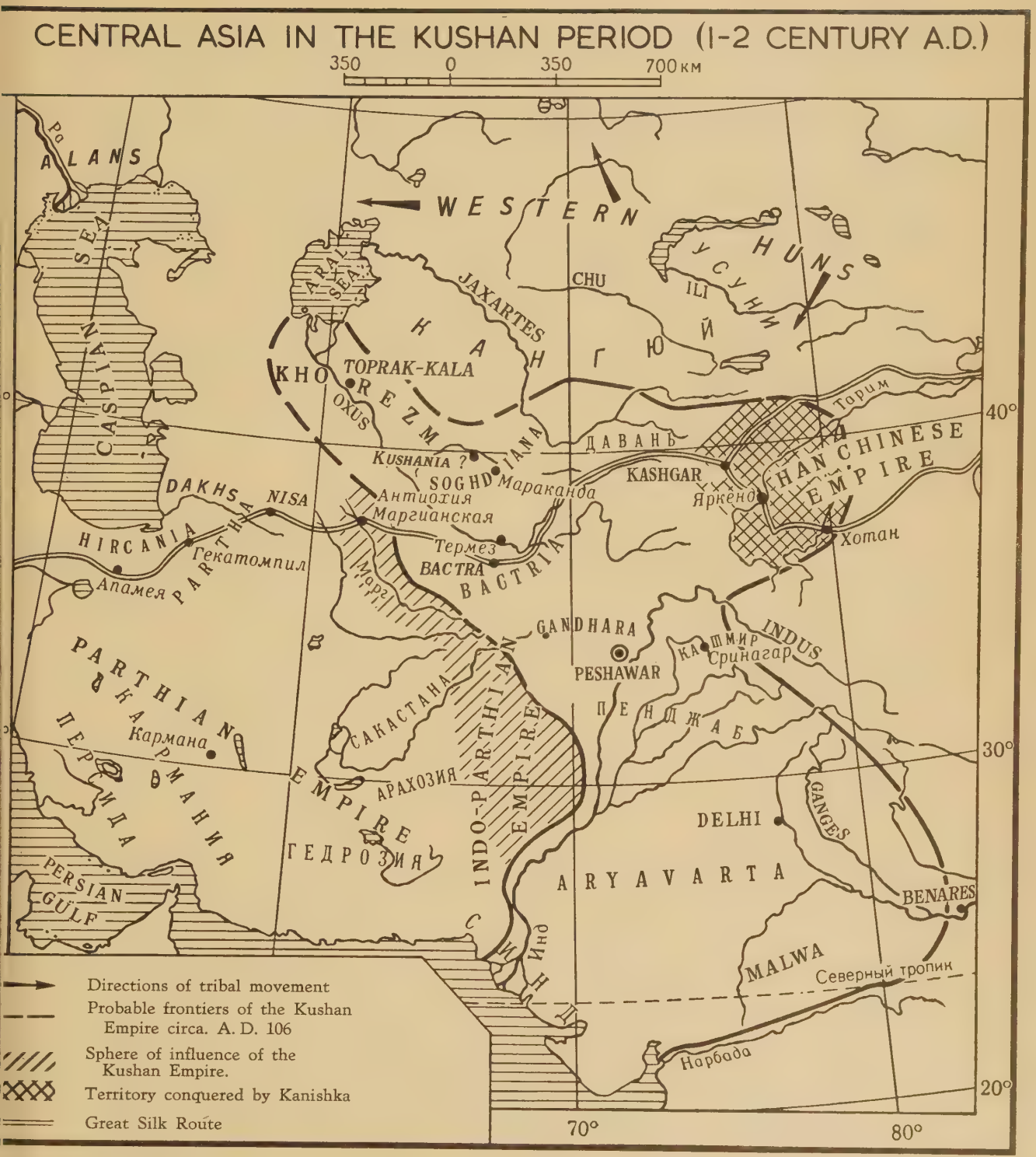
centuries, and its fertile oases offered great attractions to the invader. Its history must therefore be interpreted in terms of conquest rather than of peaceful evolution. It is also largely a history of irrigation reflecting political developments: strong central government meant that the canals were maintained; but during periods of weak government, prolonged war or anarchy, the irrigation systems decayed and agriculture suffered accordingly.

Since ancient times Central Asia has been a melting-pot of peoples, cultures and religions. It was exposed to the cultural influences of the neighbouring nations of the south and east, and the higher culture of the settled populations there constantly came into contact with the lower culture of the nomads. Various religions struck root in Central Asia: Zoroastrianism flourished there and its founder may have been a native of the region. Later, it was joined by the Greek religion; Buddhism spread in the Kushan or Indo-Scythian period and Manichaeism in the third century; Christianity followed in the fourth. The introduction of Islam was a turning point in the life of the country, though its unity was soon shattered by sects. The settled population in towns embraced it earlier than the nomads on whom its influence was, and has remained, limited.

In view of this strong element of variety in the racial, cultural and religious inheritance of the country, modern Central Asia presents a surprisingly large degree of uniformity. The reason for this, which will be made clearer in the ensuing articles, is largely geographical: the vast open areas encouraged the formation of large ethnic groups and small communities were able to preserve their identity only in remote mountain regions.

The ancient states of Central Asia

In ancient times the oases of Central Asia early became centres of advanced culture. According to the excavations made in 1938 in the caves of Teshnik-Tash (Uzbekistan), in the Old Stone Age the country was already inhabited by man and in the early Bronze Age it became a home of a relatively high civilization. The ancient population of Central Asia belonged to the Iranian group. At the beginning of the first millennium B.C. the country was inhabited by shepherd tribes, the Saki. In the seventh and sixth centuries the first states arose, amongst which the most important were Bactria, Soghdiana and Khorezm. In the middle of the sixth century a large part of the country was captured by Cyrus and formed into four satrapies. But Persian rule in Central Asia collapsed with the destruction of the Persian Empire by Alexander the Great. Between 329-328 B.C. he conquered Bactria and Soghdiana and this led to closer relations being established with India. A series of native rebellions culminated in the overthrow of the Seleucids in the western part of Central Asia c.250 by the Dakhs. This area now became


CENTRAL ASIA IN THE KUSHAN PERIOD (1-2 CENTURY A.D.)
350 0 350 700 км
ALANS
CASPIAN SEA
ARAL SEA
WESTERN HUNS
ЮЭЧЖИ
CHU
ILI
JAXARTES
КАНГЮЙ
KHOREZM
TOPRAK-KALA
OXUS
KUSHANIA ?
SOGHD
Мараканда
Антиохия Маргианская
Термез
BACTRA
BACTRIA
DAKHS
NISA
HIRCANIA
Гекатомпил
Апамея
PARTHIA
Марв
ДАВАНЬ
KASHGAR
Яркенд
HANCHINESE EMPIRE
Тарим
Хотан
GANDHARA
PESHAWAR
КАШМИР
Сринагар
INDUS
ПЕНДЖАБ
SAKASTANA
ARACHOSIA
INDO-PARTHIAN EMPIRE
Кармана
PARTHIAN EMPIRE
ПЕРСИДА
ГЕДРОЗИЯ
PERSIAN GULF
DELHI
GANGES
ARYAVARTA
BENARES
MALWA
Северный тропик
Нарбада
Directions of tribal movement
Probable frontiers of the Kushan Empire circa. A. D. 106
Sphere of influence of the Kushan Empire.
Territory conquered by Kanishka
Great Silk Route
70°
80°
40°
30°
20°

part of Parthia while Bactria, Soghdiana and Margiana formed an independent Graeco-Bactrian state which survived until c.140-130, when it collapsed under the pressure of Parthia and the nomad Massagets and Tokhari. At the beginning of the first century B.C. its place was occupied by the Kushan kingdom. The new state survived longer than any of its predecessors and in the first century A.D., in the reigns of Kadfis I and II, its frontiers spread to include Afghanistan and a large part of India. This gave it a new orientation and under Kanishka (c. A.D.78-123) and his successors its political centre of gravity moved southwards into India, while Kushan expansion in the north and east led to a series of clashes with China.

The Kushan period was one of cultural and economic expansion for Central Asia. It owed its prosperity partly to its position on the "great silk route" connecting China with Persia and the Roman world. The glass and metal industries developed, while at the same time the spread of the irrigation system opened new areas to agriculture. Local culture flourished under the influence of Persia, China and India, and the remnants of the Graeco-Bactrian inheritance. The towns became centres of cultural and economic life.

In the third century the Kushan Empire was in decline and in the fourth it was replaced in Bactria and Soghdiana by the kingdom of the nomad Ephthalites or White Huns arriving from the East. Subsequently they united Central Asia under their rule, and annexed northern India, eastern Turkestan and eastern Persia. Strong central power was now replaced by a number of petty rulers, the towns decayed and economic life transferred itself to the country. Nevertheless the Ephthalites exploited their position on the "great silk route" and engaged in trade with Persia, Byzantium, India and China. Owing to its disunity the country could not offer adequate resistance to a new wave of nomads flowing from the East.

Turks and Arabs

Between 563-567 the Ephthalite kingdom was captured by Turks from Semirech'ye and annexed to the great khaganate stretching from Manchuria to the Black Sea. This is almost the first appearance of the Turks in history. Their supremacy was short-lived; their resources were unequal to their political ambitions of destroying Persia and before the end of the sixth century the khaganate fell into two parts, the western of which began to disintegrate. This disintegration paved the way for conquest by the Arabs. Their plundering raids in the later decades of the seventh century developed into a systematic conquest and between 706-714 Qutayba ibn Muslim first established Arab power in Transoxiana, which now became part of the Umayyad Caliphate. An event of the greatest importance in Central Asian history was the religious revolution which followed. By exemptions from certain taxes and by other

privileges the invaders encouraged the conversion of the natives to Islam and in a number of cases the existing Nestorian and Zoroastrian places of worship were converted into mosques. Arabic became the language of the administration and of learning, and the higher classes of indigenous society, especially in towns, were profoundly influenced by Arab culture. It is only during the past three or four years that Soviet orientalists have begun to admit the extent to which Central Asia came under the influence of Arab culture. Previously they had held to the view that, on the contrary, Arab culture had been largely informed by the indigenous culture of Central Asia.

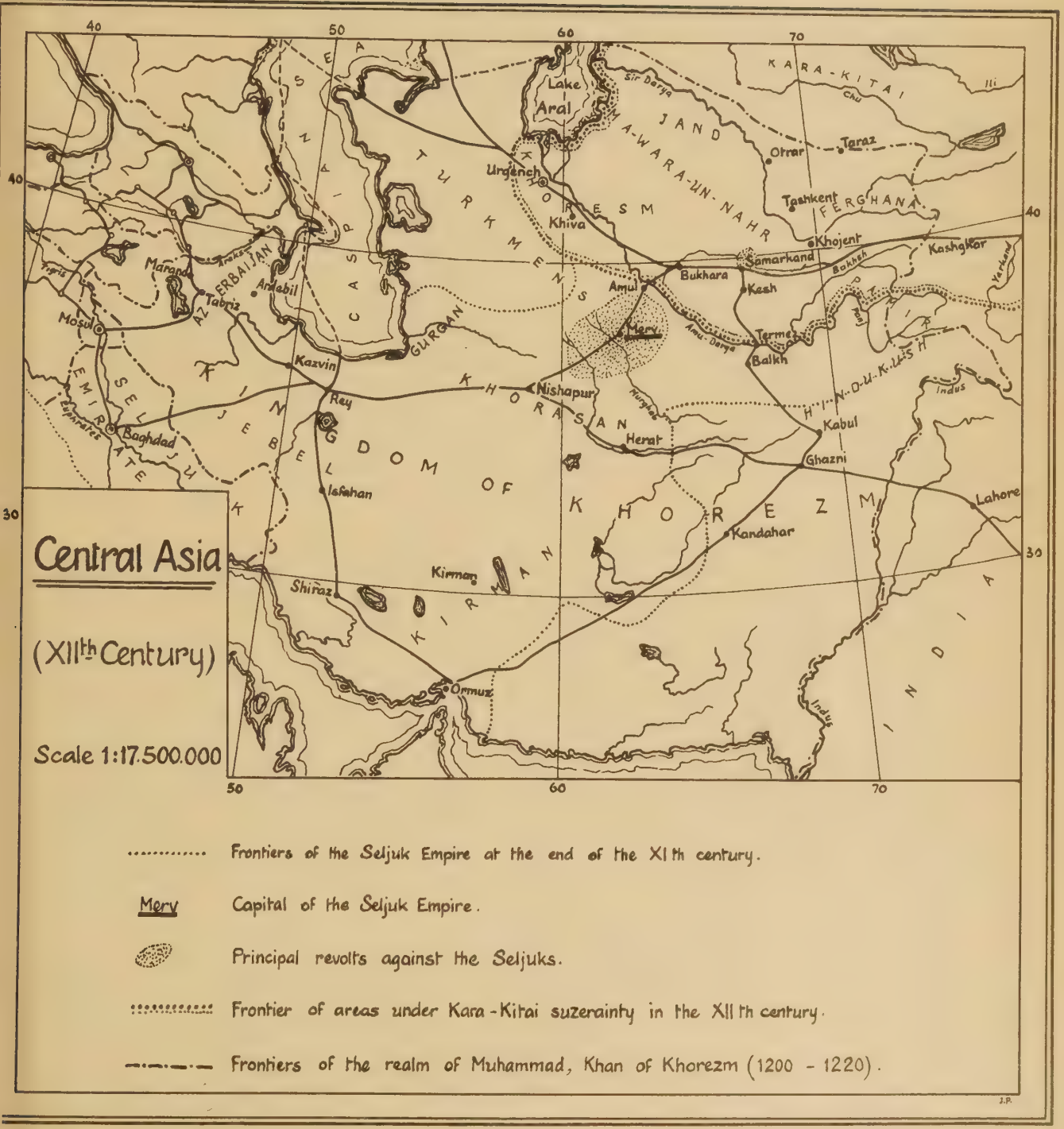
The decline of Abbasid power assisted the formation of semi-independent states and in 821 Transoxiana and Khorasan formed part of the empire of the Tahiri dynasty and later, in 874, of the Samanids. This put Central Asia under the intellectual supremacy of Persia, a fact often disputed by Soviet historians. Learning and literature flourished, the former being represented by Farabi, Ibn-Sina (Avicenna) and the Ibn Musa (Algoritmi), and a period of economic prosperity set in.

In 999 the Samanids were overthrown by Turkish tribes arriving from Semirech'ye under the leadership of the Muslim Karakhanids. The Samanid state became divided between the Karakhanid khanate in Transoxiana and the Ghaznavid sultanate beyond the Amu-Dar'ya. In the middle of the eleventh century the latter was destroyed by the Seljuk Turks on their march to the west, and together with a part of Persia it was formed into the Seljuk Empire while Khorezm became semi-independent. Amidst such upheavals Central Asian architecture, literature and science continued to flourish, the chief exponent of the last being Biruni.

Early in the 1140s the Karakhanids were overthrown by the Kara-Kitai coming from the east. Probably of Mongolian origin, they were a new ethnic element in Central Asia. The Kara-Kitai supremacy soon began to decline and Khorezm became independent. Such was the political situation on the eve of the Mongol invasion.

The Mongols

The immediate result of the subjugation of Central Asia (1219-21) by Chinghiz Khan was the impoverishment and depopulation of the region. The principal towns were laid waste, the irrigation system was gravely damaged and fields were turned into desert. After Chinghiz Khan's death and the inheritance of his Central Asian possessions by his son Chagatay and his successors, the region became divided into petty states whose hostility to each other and opposition to the restoration of central authority hindered economic progress. The Mongol element infused into the population had never been great


Central Asia
(XIIth Century)
Scale 1:17.500.000
Frontiers of the Seljuk Empire at the end of the XIth century.
Mery
Capital of the Seljuk Empire.
Principal revolts against the Seljuks.
Frontier of areas under Kara-Kitai suzerainty in the XIIth century.
Frontiers of the realm of Muhammad, Khan of Khorezm (1200 - 1220).
Caspian Sea
Aral Lake
Sir Darya
Jand
Kara-Kitai
Chu
Otrar
Taraz
Urgench
Khiva
Tashkent
Ferghana
Khojent
Samarkand
Kashgar
Bukhara
Kesh
Amul
Mery
Termez
Balkh
Amu-Darya
Bakhsh
Yarkand
Maragha
Ardebil
Tabriz
Mosul
Kazvin
Rey
Baghdad
Isfahan
Nishapur
Herat
Kabul
Ghazni
Lahore
Kandahar
Kirman
Shiraz
Ormuz
Indus
Euphrates
Turkmens
Turkestan
Azerbaijan
Gurgan
Jebel
Seljuk Empire
Khorasan
Kirman
Khorezm
India
40
50
60
70
30

and it now, together with the Mongol rulers, became turkified and islamized.

The cultural and racial effects of the Mongol invasion were virtually nil. During the rule of the Chagatay khans the Iranian element in the population tended to concentrate in the towns and oases. The Turkic element remained largely in the steppe but was beginning to penetrate into the areas of permanent settlement.

Timur and the Timurids

Real power in Central Asia was henceforward in the hands of Turkish governors whose allegiance to the khans was mostly nominal. One of these governors, Timur, seized power in Transoxiana in 1369 and after uniting Central Asia proceeded to extend his frontiers over most of Persia and as far as Baghdad, Damascus and Delhi. But although while Timur's expire remained, and for a long while afterward, most of Central Asia was ruled by men of Turkic stock, the so-called "golden period" of literature, art and refined culture which flourished for about a century under Timur and his successors was Persian rather than Turkish.

During the disorders following Timur's death his empire fell into two parts. One, with its capital at Herat, passed to his son, Shahrukh, the other with Samarkand to Shahrukh's son, Ulug-Bek. The latter, a distinguished astronomer, surrounded himself with scholars and artists, and Samarkand, where he erected many magnificent buildings, was the centre of Central Asian culture. After his assassination in 1449 none of his successors enjoyed equal power and prestige. In the absence of a strong central government a number of mutually hostile petty states appeared, and the culture and economic life of Transoxiana fell into decline. Herat, the capital of Sultan-Hosayn (1469-1506) ruler of Khorasan, now became the centre of the intellectual life of Central Asia. Despite the fact that the local population belonged to the Iranian group, Central Asian poetry in Turkic languages now reached the peak of its development. The great poet, Alisher Navoi (1441-1501), was a personal friend of Sultan-Hosayn and took an active part in the government of the country.

At the end of the fifteenth century internal disturbances weakened Herat; at the same time the petty rulers of Transoxiana with the help of the Uzbeks and the Mogul khans sought to settle their own quarrels. The situation was ripe for the advent of another invader.

The Uzbeks

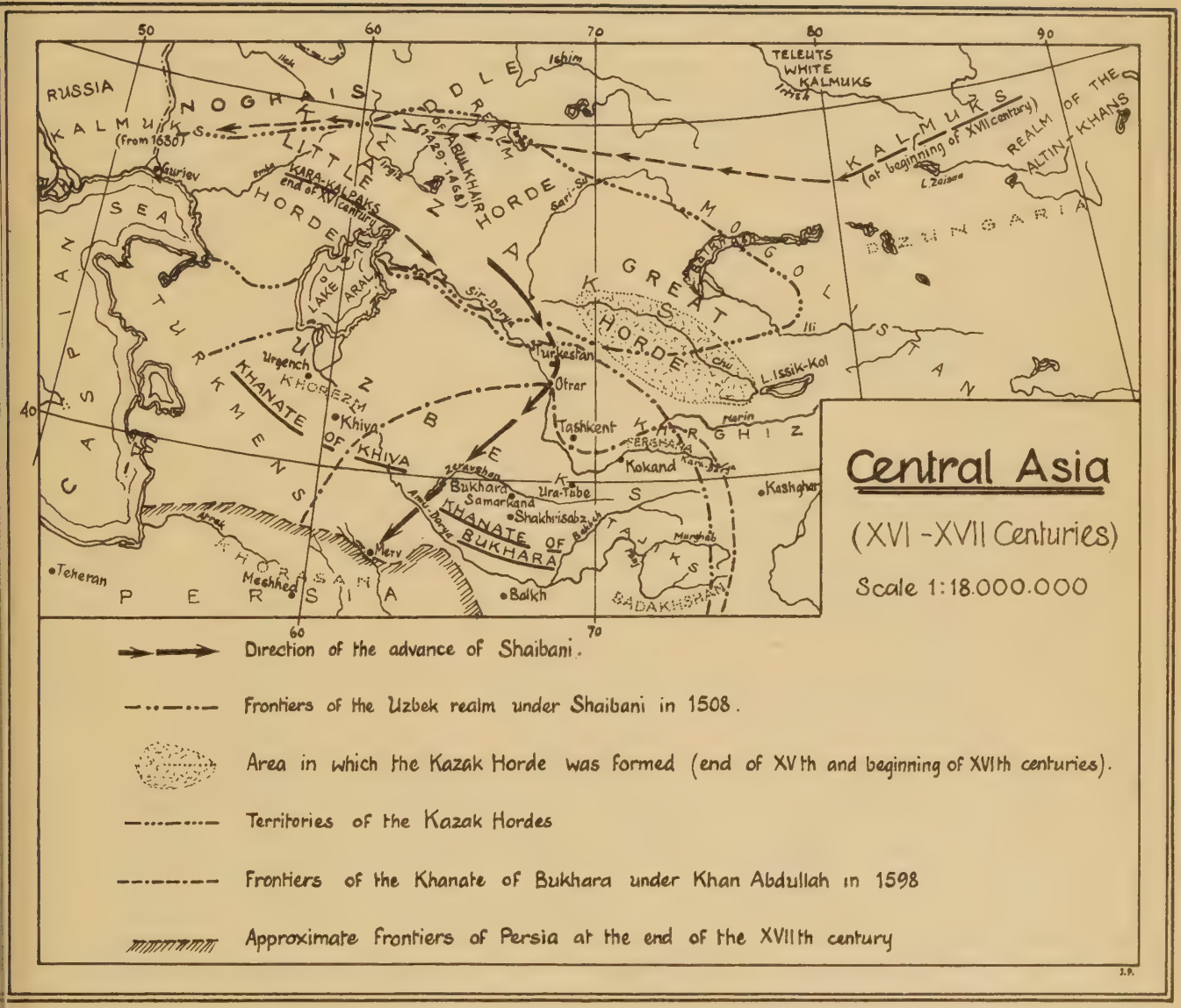
In the early years of Ulug-Bek's reign the nomad Uzbeks appeared on the

north-western border of his territory and their pressure on the Timurid states grew in the course of the fifteenth century. Between 1500 and 1507 they spread from the north Caspian steppes under the leadership of their khan, Shaybani, a descendant of Chingiz-Khan, and conquered the Timuri domains. At the same time the Kazakhs, who in the middle of the fifteenth century had separated from the Uzbek Horde, proceeded to occupy the north-western steppes, that is, a large part of modern Kazakhstan.

Shaybani was defeated by the Persian Safavid Shah Ismail in 1510 and the territory as far north as Merv was nominally included in the Persian Empire until the end of the seventeenth century. After Persia's defeat of the Uzbeks, their territory was confined to the lands north of the Amu Dar'ya and eventually became the emirate of Bukhara. At the same time the Uzbek khanate of Khorezm, or Khiva, was formed. Abdullah Shaybani succeeded in uniting Khiva and Bukhara before his death in 1597; but they did not remain united for long. Both states were temporarily occupied by Nadir Shah in 1740 and after a long period of disorder the last Bukharan dynasty, the Manghyt emirs, came to power in 1753. Bukhara retained nominal independence until the Soviet occupation in 1920.

The Uzbeks remained nomad cattle-breeders until the seventeenth century, during which they settled in the oases. They intermingled with the Iranian Tadzhiks and other local peoples, and it was at this time that the area began to assume its present racial composition. The towns, particularly Bukhara and Samarkand, continued as centres of intellectual and economic life and the khans carried on the Timurid tradition by erecting there a number of fine buildings. Various industries developed; Central Asian textiles, leather, jewellery, and metalwork, particularly weapons, became famous. The commercial relations of the country widened; the khanates of Khiva and Bukhara exchanged embassies and established regular trade with China, Persia, India, the Kazakhs and the peoples of Siberia. Relations with Russia in the seventeenth century grew closer and two caravan routes connected it with Central Asia: one beginning at Tobol'sk, crossed the Irtysh and through Yasy (later to become the town of Turkestan) went to Bukhara; the other ran from Astrakhan' through Gur'yev to Khiva and Bukhara.

By the end of the eighteenth century the racial pattern of Central Asia was crystallized; the Tadzhiks and Uzbeks were settled, agricultural peoples, while the Kazakhs, Turkmen, Kirgiz and Kara-Kalpaks continued for the most part as cattle breeding nomads or semi-nomads. Until recently Soviet writers have taken the line that the century before the coming of the Russians was a period of economic, political and cultural stagnation. This was not, however, the view taken by the great Russian oriental historian Bartol'd who in 1920 wrote: "It would be a mistake to suppose that the Russian conquerors found in Turkestan nothing but barbarity and no cultural activity which they might



Central Asia

(XVI - XVII Centuries)

Scale 1:18.000.000

→ Direction of the advance of Shaibani.

Frontiers of the Uzbek realm under Shaibani in 1508.

Area in which the Kazak Horde was formed (end of XVth and beginning of XVIIth centuries).

Territories of the Kazak Hordes

Frontiers of the Khanate of Bukhara under Khan Abdullah in 1598

Approximate frontiers of Persia at the end of the XVIIIth century

I.P.

foster. At the time of the conquest the economic welfare of the greater part of Turkestan was much higher than it had been a century earlier." During the past three or four years there has been a marked tendency to revert to Bartol'd's unquestionably correct view. In 1956 the historian Chekhovich wrote a long article describing the economic prosperity of Turkestan at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Chekhovich was at pains to demolish the argument powerfully developed in VOPROSY ISTORII during 1953, that up to the time of the Russian conquest "there had been no reduction in the internecine strife and feudal parcelling out which brought with them the ruthless destruction of Central Asia's productive forces." (See CAR, Vol.V, No.1, 1957, p.2.)

Tsarist and Soviet rule

The Russian conquests of Central Asia, which began in the second quarter of the nineteenth century and were completed before the beginning of the twentieth century, did not at first have any marked effect on the peoples of the region. The Tsarist colonial administration paid little attention to national distinctions of language or custom, and administrative divisions were made without any regard to such distinctions. There was never any question of the eventual grant of independence or self-government to any of the nationalities, nor was there much change in the relative proportions of rural and urban population. Since the Revolution, however, there have been a number of profound changes. There has on the one hand been an attempt to shatter the common cultural bond of the Central Asian peoples constituted by Islam and the remarkable inter-resemblance of the Turkic languages. On the other hand, strong efforts have been made and are still continuing to make the peoples conform to a uniform pattern by means of Sovietization and by the compulsory russianization of languages, literature and the other arts.

The political instrument used to achieve this dual aim is the Nationalities Policy, of which the first practical demonstration was the division in 1924 of the peoples of the former provinces of Turkestan and Stepnoy Kray (Steppe Region) into republics named after the majority of the people inhabiting them. National traditions other than those regarded as peculiar to Islam are encouraged, but "bourgeois" or local nationalism is strongly condemned. Colonization by non-Asians has been extensive, the proportion of settlers to natives being now about one to two. This last factor has had less effect on the way of life than might be supposed. The towns are developing on Russian lines, and their population is often as much as half Russian; and a knowledge of Russian is essential for professional advancement. But broadly speaking it can be said that the Russian settlers live side by side with rather than among the native peoples. Intermarriage is very rare, especially between Muslim girls and non-Asian men.

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Award for Director of Kazakh Institute of Nuclear Physics

The Council of the Physics Institute of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR has awarded the degree of doctor of physico-mathematical sciences on the Kazakh scholar Zhavken Suleymenovich Takibayev. The award is in recognition of his work in connection with the interaction of the highly-powered particles of cosmic rays with the atomic muclei of certain elements. Takibayev is the director of the Institute of Nuclear Physics of the Kazakh Academy of Sciences. BR. 12th July 1958

HISTORY

BRITISH POLICY IN CENTRAL ASIA IN THE EARLY NINETEENTH CENTURY

THE MISSION OF RICHMOND SHAKESPEAR

An article entitled "British Expansion in Central Asia in the Thirties and Forties of the Nineteenth Century and Richmond Shakespear's Mission" by N.A. Khalfin, appeared in ISTORIYA SSSR, 1958, No.2. The purpose of this article is to expose Britain's alleged plans for expansion into Central Asia during the first half of the nineteenth century. The author claims to have discovered new evidence of the existence of such plans in a collection of letters purporting to have been the property of Richmond Shakespear, a British army officer who visited Khiva in 1840. These letters, whose dates range from 1831 to 1838, are said to be in the Soviet Central State Archives where they are described simply as "captured from the Turkmen". These documents, referred to by Khalfin as the Central State Military Archives and Military Academy Record No.6996, are described by him in a note at the end of his article as follows:

> "The records No.6996 consist of 26 pages of English manuscript. The papers are faded and covered in small, typically English 'connected' handwriting. A part of the text has rubbed off and the pages are marked by deep wrinkles which shows that they have long been kept folded. The author is not indicated and we therefore had to subject the documents to a close scrutiny. Most of the papers are either rough drafts or copies (hardly ever originals) but they all have the watermark 'J. Green and Son' and are dated from 1831 to 1838. Some papers also bear the stamp 'secret and personal'. There can be no doubt about the genuineness of the documents.
>
> "Apart from the 26 pages of foreign correspondence, the records also contain five pages of Russian translations of various documents probably executed by an official of the War Office. In some cases the translator has added his comments.

"We have not found a single direct or oblique reference to these documents in any of the histories of Central Asia in the nineteenth century, nor is there any mention of them in the history of British policies in the East; yet they are of considerable historical interest. Moreover the American correspondent-adventurer MacGahan in his book CAMPAIGNING ON THE OXUS AND THE FALL OF KHIVA, which was published in London in 1874, states that a detachment of General Golovachev, during an engagement with the enemy in the summer of 1873 near the village of Il'yaly in the Khiva khanate, found in the Turkmen camp 'papers of Lt. Shakespear who arrived in Khiva on a mission from his government at the time of the ill-starred expedition of Perovskiy in 1840'.

"The dates on the sheets in the file and the testimony of MacGahan have served as a primary basis for research into these curious documents. 'English letters captured from the Turkmen' were written at intervals between February and August 1840; moreover there is no ground for relating the undated drafts here, from the sense of the text, to any other time."

In the above-mentioned book by J.A. MacGahan the author's actual words are:

"Among the curious things found was a quantity of papers of Lieut. Shakespear, who went to Khiva on a mission from the English, during Perovsky's unfortunate expedition in 1840. Lieut. Shakespear, it will be remembered, went to Khiva to bring about a peaceable settlement of the difficulties between the Khivans and the Russians.

"One of these papers was a copy of a letter from Lord Palmerston, in which the British Ambassador was instructed to inform the Russian Government that the annexation of Khiva might be regarded by England as a casus belli."

Without examining the Shakespear documents, of which no facsimile is provided, it is impossible to form any opinion either on their authenticity or on the accuracy of the quotations cited from them. It is difficult to believe that any responsible person would proceed on an allegedly secret mission to Central Asia carrying with him a collection of confidential letters the latest of which had been written two years previously From an examination of the other sources quoted by Khalfin, however, it is clear that he is capable not only of suppressio veri but of suggestio falsi. The results of this examination are given in comments after Khalfin's notes at

the end of the article.

It is a matter of considerable interest that nearly 40 years after Britain relinquished all control over Afghan affairs and eleven years after the transfer of power in India, the Soviet government should go to such trouble to keep alive the legend of British designs in Central Asia and should try to make use of documentary evidence the authenticity of which it is impossible to establish. There is of course no doubt that during the last century the Government of India was anxious to discover what trade possibilities existed in Central Asia and also what Russia's intentions were. To these ends a number of British emissaries were sent there, some of whom could fairly be described as intelligence agents, and others as political or commerical representatives. (It may be remarked here that Khalfin consistently misunderstands the term 'British agent', which in the sources he quotes is always used in its original sense of 'representative'. It only acquired its pejorative meaning much later.) A third category consisted of bona fide travellers, or of people sent to obtain the release or discover the fate of officers like Stoddart and Conolly. The sweeping description as spies, saboteurs and pioneers of colonialism which Soviet writers now apply to all these persons could equally well be applied to the far greater number of Soviet officials and employees who are now operating in Afghanistan and India.

It is of course probable that during the first half of the nineteenth century when the Russian advance into Central Asia appeared imminent, the British government did at various times consider the possibility of establishing control over some part of what is now Soviet Central Asia. But if any such plans existed no attempt was ever made to put them into effect. What did happen was that by the end of the century the whole of Central Asia was under Russian rule or suzerainty. The whole area is now under direct Soviet rule and contains over six million Russian colonists. The adjacent countries of Afghanistan, Pakistan and India, on the other hand, are now completely independent.

The activities of Richmond Shakespear, who in the summer of 1840 penetrated into the Khiva khanate, have hitherto received but scant mention in our historical literature devoted to British expansion in Central Asia. This was mainly due to the scarcity of documentary evidence.

Unlike his associates, who left bulky volumes about their activities, Shakespear only published several articles about his journey to Khiva, and his "brief travel journal", in the estimation of E.P. Kovaleskiy, "is full of in-

accuracies and adds little to the information which we already possess about his itinerary: a number of place names and the names of people have been altered to such an extent as to be beyond recognition".(1) The writings of Shakespear and of his associate James Abbott have also been severely criticized by I.V. Mushketov. In debunking these workers of British colonialism he wrote that "they were both simply English spies whose geographical reports contain little useful information and do not inspire much confidence. . ." and that ". . . much of what they say is patently false".(2)

We have, however, been fortunate in finding in the Central State Military-Historical Archives, Record No.6996 entitled "Angliyskiye pisma vzyatyye u Turkmen" (English Letters Captured from the Turkmen). An analysis of the documents and their dating indicate that they form Shakespear's correspondence. A study of this material enables one to understand the aims and significance of Shakespear's mission and to assess its place in British expansionist plans in Central Asia.

During the thirties and forties of the nineteenth century the British ruling circles intensified their efforts to extend their political dominion over the countries of the East and to capture new markets. This circumstance had a definite economic basis. The first crisis of general overproduction occurred in 1825 and affected the whole economy of England which in 1836 suffered another crisis. The years 1825-36 were a period of extreme instability in British industry, which experienced great difficulties in the marketing of its products.

At the same time the aspirations of British capitalists to extend their influence in Central Asia became more intense as they were beginning to be attracted by the as yet unexploited market for textiles. The Central Asian khanates consequently became the objects of covetous attention by Indo-British rulers who implemented the policy of Britain in the east.

The expansionist aims of the British with regard to Central Asia were already manifest in 1812, when William Moorcroft - a senior official of the East-India Company - sent a group of specially trained British agents composed of Indian Muslims led by Meer Issut Oolah, on an extensive journey through the countries of the east. This group, or more precisely its various members, carried out reconnaissance work along the route: Attock - Kashmir - Tibet - Yarkand - Kashgar - Pekin - Kashgar - Kokand - Samarkand - Bukhara - Balkh - Khul'ma - Bamian - Kabul, and collected information about their populations, economics, trade, financial systems, political organization and transport facilities, etc. and made plans of the inhabited areas and assiduously recorded all available facts about their fortifications.

Meer Issut Oollah gives a detailed description of the Bukhara emirate

even down to the number of officials. Apart from reconnoitring activities his party also conducted pro-British propaganda. In reporting his discussions with Klych Ali Bek, the ruler of Khul'ma (south Turkestan), in the course of which he ardently boosted Britain, he stresses that "after my description of the brilliant /this is a mistranslation, the word used in the English original is 'beneficent' - Ed./ government of the British in India, Klych Ali Bek frequently expressed the wish to enter into friendly relations with the British government".

By such means the ground was prepared for British colonial expansion in the Central Asian countries. Subsequently, in 1819-25 Moorcroft's and George Trebeck's mission was sent to the area and carried out a supplementary study of the Bukhara emirate under the pretence of looking for horses for the army of the East India Company. As the reports of this mission make clear, the British government already possessed a considerable network of agents operating in each major city on the route from India to Turkestan.(3)

In the early thirties of the nineteenth century an expedition led by the British intelligence officer and saboteur Alexander Burnes visited Afghanistan, Central Asia and Persia to collect military and politico-economic information essential for the elaboration and realization of the predatory plans of Britain in the Middle East. At this time too, British capitalists obtained control of the trade route from western Europe to northern Persia. Their goods arrived directly from Britain in Trebizond and thence through Erzerum were delivered to Tabriz.

The American, Charles Masson, who was in the service of the East India Company, published in 1835 a report "The Trade of Kabul" in which he recommended a number of measures for the expansion of trade between Britain and Afghanistan and Central Asia. The Indo-British authorities, as well as individual business men, stressed the importance of extending the "political and trade relations with the tribes and states situated to the north of the Indus right up to Kabul and Bukhara". George Adams, the author of the above-quoted lines, was the head of a major British trading company. He also wrote "the time has already arrived when small capital expenditures can lead our trade ships out to the delightful fields of action and to open up Central Asia more fully to English trade and so to give our manufacturers and traders the opportunity of competing and ousting our rivals - the Russians." "For this great national objective", he concluded, "we should begrudge nothing".(4) This pathetic declaration was called forth by the 1838 crisis of over-production, by a wave of bankruptcies, the depreciation of shares and the reduction in exports. Between 1836 and 1837 British exports dropped from £53.4m. to £42.1m. British capitalists and the aristocracy during the later thirties intensified their predatory policies and sought by armed force to subordinate weaker states, especially those of the east.

In 1838 the British ruling circles unleashed a war against Persia, one of the results of which was a one-sided agreement thrust on the Persians in 1841 by which Britain's economic and political position in the country was strengthened. During this period British governing circles were also preparing for an armed intervention in the affairs of the Ottoman Empire and for a plundering onslaught on the Chinese people (1840 - First Opium War).

At about this time too the invasion of Afghanistan began. During the first period of this war, approximately from 1838-40, Britain succeeded in capturing in one or other form a considerable part of Afghanistan and in transforming it into a bridgehead for the development of subversive activities against the people of Central Asia. "The British entrenched in Kabul", wrote the contemporary German historian K. Neumann, "already spread their nets over the Central Asian lands. At first they even contemplated a march to the other side of the Amu-Dar'ya into Samarkand and Bukhara."(5)

The British officers Burslem and Stewart in the meantime made a survey of the passes of the Hindukush and penetrated right up to Khul'ma and reconnoitred the main routes to the Amu-Dar'ya valley. In the course of their reconnoitring expedition they frequently encountered British agents (Indian Muslims) whom they then dispatched to the British authorities laden with all manner of information about the Central Asian khanates. In one such "traveller" from Kokand, Burslem recognized a pupil "of the famous school of Captain Douglas Dalgetty" who was engaged in the training of spies and saboteurs.(6)

Henry Rawlinson - one of the particularly ardent haters of Russia who subsequently became the leader of the advocates of "forward policy", i.e. a policy of an active offensive in the east, stressed Britain's preparations for the capture of Seygan (sic) on the northern slopes of the Hindukush, and refers to the detailed discussions regarding "the further movement on Bukhara". This statement finds confirmation in Burslem's book.(7)

However, the British plans for an immediate invasion of Central Asia were frustrated: in the autumn of 1840 the home-guards (opolcheniye) of the khanates of south Turkestan routed the brigade of the British General Sale in the Parvan gorge, and in Afghanistan a partisan movement arose which carried on a war of attrition against the British.(8)

Having failed to invade Central Asia through Afghanistan, the British ruling circles intensified still further the subversive activities against the Central Asian khanates. British army officers were sent there invested with diplomatic powers. Their task was to draw the peoples of Central Asia into the orbit of British policy and to consolidate British influence in the area. Most of these agents were sent through Persia and Herat.

After the end of the Anglo-Persian war of 1838, Herat, the junction for a number of strategic roads, became the centre of British sabotage and propagandist activities in the Middle East. This work was directed by Major D'Arcy Todd.

In June 1839 D'Arcy Todd signed in the name of his government an agreement with Karman Shah - Khan of Herat - and his vizier Yar Muhammad Khan. These documents were composed in the style of "subsidiary agreements" of the kind foisted by the East India Company on Indian princes. Karman Shah was promised a monthly payment of 25,000 rupees in return for which the British secured the right of controlling the external policies and trade of Herat. Provision was also made for the organization of a British military-political bridgehead, which in its turn helped to promote British expansion in Central Asia and the Middle East. Subsequently Todd, who became political agent in Herat, succeeded in establishing a British force there.(9)

Throughout, the British government sought actively to intervene in Central Asian affairs. For instance, in the letter of 3rd February 1840 addressed by the British Prime Minister Palmerston to Clanricarde, the British Ambassador at St.Petersburg (see p.387 above), he refers to the Russian government announcement that the purpose of the V.A. Perovskiy expedition to the Khiva khanate in 1839 was merely to preserve peace in Khiva, and maintains that such activities threaten Britain for they "open for Russia the road to India" and that ". . . in these circumstances the Government may be constrained to take such defensive measures as may be deemed necessary to safeguard the peace of Her Majesty's possessions in this part of the world".

Those directly concerned with the organization and direction of British aggressive policy in the Middle East and Central Asia were kept informed of this correspondence, the contents of which were made known to the "lowest link". The secretary of the East India Company, Maddock, by a special and secret message of 20th April 1840 informed Macnaghten at the court of the puppet ruler of Afghanistan Shuja'ul-Mulk of Palmerston's letter, and the latter in turn informed Todd who passed the information on to Lieutenant Shakespear.

A Colonel Stoddart was sent from the British Consulate in Persia to Bukhara to organize subversive activities, but the reason given for his journey was the "liberation" of several Russian prisoners. In reality Stoddart was entrusted with the conclusion of a one-sided agreement with the Bukhara authorities for joint action against Russia.(10) At the same time other agents were sent to Kokand and Khiva.

British expansion in Central Asia alarmed the Russian government as it threatened the security of Russia s frontiers and the position of Russian entrepreneurs in Central Asian markets. Already in November 1839 the Governor

of Orenburg, Perovskiy, informed the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Nesselrode, that the British intended to occupy Bukhara and Khiva, and to get the navigation of the Amu-Dar'ya into their hands and transform it "into a British waterway". "That is why," wrote Perovskiy, "the British have despatched agents from Kabul through Kunduz and Balkh, and Bukhara and Khiva will probably be made to agree to all the demands and proposals of the British".(11) Shakespear's documents confirm this and give the names of the agents, moreover they make it clear that Rawlinson was to have been sent to the Central Asian khanates, though his arrival there is not mentioned.

The British emissaries achieved a certain success in Khiva, not so much because of any inherent sympathy for the British, but because of the exacerbation of Russian-Khivan relations as a result of raids by the nomads supported by Khivan authorities on Russian trade caravans. Exploiting this situation and at the same time flaunting their own "brilliant victories" in Afghanistan, the British sought to transform Khiva into a military-political bridgehead in Central Asia and a market for their goods.

Following his arrival in Herat in 1839 Major Todd sent to Khiva a certain mulla Husain who presented Allahkuli - Khan of Khiva - with a characteristic present; a sumptuous rifle, and in return obtained a written agreement to the establishment of relations with Britain.

Immediately after this Captain James Abbott who, according to Neumann (5) "served in a secret capacity in the East India Company", was sent to Khiva. In the subsequently published two-volume description of his journey Abbott assiduously avoids all mention of the nature of his discussions with the Khan. Furthermore, he plainly states: "I have no intention of disclosing the political affairs discussed at this audience." In spite of this, from the further account of Abbott himself, it is possible to judge the direction of his activities - an attempt to draw the Khan into the British orbit and to set him against Russia and other Central Asian states, and to secure a joint Khivan-Kokand condemnation of Bukhara for not aligning herself with Britain. The Khan was also warned that should he refuse to accede to these demands the British army would move in.(12)

Apart from political sabotage and propaganda Abbott devoted much attention to military espionage. At his insistence the Khan ordered that all possible information concerning frontier activities should be passed on to him. Abbott created his own espionage network in the khanate and beyond its borders and in many important respects knew more than the Khivan authorities.(13)

In the course of further discussions about problems "which are not to be made public", he strove to expedite the conclusion of an agreement consolidating British influence in the khanate and attempted even to take over the direction of the building of fortifications against Russia.

Abbott's activities were not confined to Khivan territory. He was equally engaged in reconnoitring roads and fortresses along the Russian frontier. On 1st May 1840 Abbott, with a large detachment of Khivan soldiers, was held off by Russian forces near the Novo-Aleksandrovsk fortifications in the Mangyshlak peninsula. When arrested he posed as a representative of the Khan of Khiva on a mission to the Russian government. He produced documents signed by Todd which stated that he was sent by direction of the British government to Khiva to which was added by another hand and in different ink the postcript "or if necessary through Russia". The Russian authorities therefore concluded that Abbott had actually no intention of going to Russia, but having fallen into difficulties and being suspected of espionage, was compelled to alter his plans.(14)

At the end of May 1840 Abbott was brought to Orenburg and thence to St. Petersburg. The tsarist government refused to acknowledge his diplomatic plenipotentiary powers as a representative of the Khan of Khiva and he was soon sent back to London.

Abbott's mission did not produce the desired results. He succeeded, it is true, in establishing relations with the influential circles of the Khiva khanate and in collecting important economic and military-political data, but the principal aim to bring about a conflict between Russia and Khiva remained unfulfilled. This failure was all the more bitter as the attempt was made at a time when relations between the two states were exacerbated. The British also failed to secure Russia's admission that they had certain rights in Khiva, in particular the right to act as mediators between Russia and Khiva.

The British government, however, did not give up their efforts to assert themselves in Khiva. They continued to mask their aggressive policy by demagogic discussions about the need for "defensive measures" in connection with Perovskiy's expeditions, as if the latter might almost result in India being lost to the British (see Palmerston's letter of 3rd February 1840 to Clanricarde). Palmerston was more than once detected in the forgery of documents and in the falsification of facts.(15) His letter of 24th March bears witness to the great attention which was devoted by the British ruling circles to the establishment of British influence in the Central Asian khanates. It fully clears Palmerston of the utterly undeserved charge of being "a Russophile" which that violent Russophobe David Urquhart readily and dexterously levelled against him (16), creating by so doing, conditions the most convenient possible for "Old Pam" to manoeuvre in foreign politics. A similar trick has often been perpetrated by persons active in British politics and "society".

W. Habberton, who could never be accused of exposing British expansionist aims, remarked of Palmerston's letter of 24th March 1840 that "in it

Palmerston maintained that the loss of Khivan independence would be construed as harmful to British interests and would call forth a counter movement through the Hindukush. The occupation of Khiva would give Russia free access to the lower reaches of the Amu-Dar'ya and Britain would therefore be compelled to seek control of the upper reaches as a precautionary and defensive measure."(17) It may here be pointed out that the "defensive measures" already taken by the British long before Perovskiy's expedition, resulted in the virtual domination of Afghanistan and turned Herat into a nest of British agents, and considerably strengthened British influence in the area after the Persian war of 1838.

From Shakespear's papers it is clear that certain "new defensive measures" planned ostensibly for the "protection of India", a favourite pretext of the British, were in reality intended to facilitate the seizure of the as yet semi-independent states of south Turkestan and in particular the khanates of Central Asia.

Abbott was sent to Khiva to conduct subversive activities. This finds additional confirmation in Macnaghten's letter from Kabul of 9th May 1840 to Maddock found among Shakespear's documents. The letter also reveals a little-known earlier intention, namely to send a special agent directly to the frontier provinces of Russia, particularly Orenburg, for a thorough military-political reconnaissance and whenever possible for subversive work as well. Such indeed was the task of Richmond Shakespear. The purposes of his mission become particularly clear when one studies the above-mentioned letter. In it Macnaghten asserts that the study of Russo-Khivan relations is of prime interest to Britain and insists on the speedy dispatch of a British agent to Khiva for military and political espionage and subversion. "Without the presence of an English officer on the spot", he wrote, "I have no means of watching over the activities of the Russians." For this purpose Captain Abbott was appointed. It was also intended to send a British mission to Kokand and another to Bukhara to assist Stoddart. Conolly did in fact set out on a "grand tour" of the Central Asian khanates (18) and eventually arrived in Bukhara.

As a plausible excuse for such extensive travels in Central Asia by British agents, Macnaghten suggested the sending of "friendly letters" to the heads of the Bukhara, Kokand, and Khiva khanates from the British vassal on the Afghan throne, and from the Governor-General of India.

It was proposed to send Alexander Burnes as British agent to the "Russian camp" but he proved to be indispensable in Kabul and the choice therefore fell on Conolly who spoke Russian. By that time however he had already set out on his travels and having visted Khiva and Kokand was held in Bukhara. Shakespear was therefore selected to establish "friendly relations" between Britain and the khanates, to set their rulers against Russia and to penetrate to Orenburg

for reconnaissance work and all manner of intrigues.

At a time when Abbott was being kept under surveillance by the Russian authorities in the Novo-Aleksandrovsk fortress, Shakespear arrived on 11th May 1840 in Herat to train local soldiers and to assist Todd in a political capacity; but he only spent a few days there and on Todd's instructions moved north.(19) He arrived in Khiva on 12th June 1840 and spent two months there.

The documents in his dossier (arkhiv) bear witness to the existence of a wide network of British military-political sources of intelligence, and a trained system of communication for British agents with the co-ordinating point, Herat; and also with Kabul, which the British had occupied. Between Todd and Shakespear, for example, a regular correspondence was kept up, which was delivered, apparently, with adequate speed; this is witnessed by the fact that on 6th June 1840, Todd informed his subordinate of the dispatch to Macnaghten at Kabul of the letters which Shakespear had sent on 25th May 1840. In other words, less than a fortnight was needed for the delivery of Richmond Shakespear's reports from the Khiva khanate to Herat, which, for the conditions of transport of those days, is a comparatively short time. In all probability Richmond Shakespear's letters had undoubted interest for the British organizers in their policy of usurpation. It was not for nothing that Todd considered it necessary to underline the fact that he had sent them on to Kabul "immediately". It can be stated with assurance that the British had a group of trustworthy agents operating between Herat and Kabul, otherwise they would not have risked sending Shakespear copies of highly secret state papers containing directives from the highest sources and information about the movement of British officer-saboteurs.

The existence of a close connection between Herat and the British agencies in the Central Asian khanates is also confirmed by the fact that among Shakespear's papers are documents relating to expenses which, it seems, he presented monthly. These show that during July 1840 he spent 938 rupees. Shakespear spent the whole of July as the guest of the Khan of Khiva and could not possibly have spent such a sum on himself. A part of the money obviously went on "presents", on bribing court officials and on the organization of a pro-English group of "influential people".

Shakespear's duties, as we have already remarked, extended beyond the borders of the Khiva khanate. In this respect of particular interest are his notes on the "Christian village" between Orenburg and the Caspian. This in all probability refers to the nidus of expansion created by Britain in the area in the middle twenties of the nineteenth century.

It is known that in 1812 at the instance of a centre of espionage and diversion, the so-called "British and Foreign Bible Society" set up in 1804

with wide support from British capitalists, the "Bible Society" was founded in Russia. In 1814 it was renamed the Russian Bible Society and received the right to establish branches in all the provincial and district cities of Russia.(20) It manifested great interest in the Asian part of the country and by the thirties maintained near Orenburg a large British colony which masqueraded as an evangelical mission. The British, and more particularly their then weaker American rivals readily exploited various Christian missions for infiltrating into the Central Asian states.

This particular evangelical mission came to Orenburg "on the pretext of bringing Christianity to the Kirgiz /i.e. Kazakhs. - Ed./, but until its eviction in the late thirties and early forties of the nineteenth century it engaged", states M.A. Terent'yev, "in espionage and in establishing relations with Khiva and Bukhara and setting them against Russia. Wherever the English failed to penetrate by force of arms they came with yard measures (arshin) and if this failed they did not scruple to bring evangelism to bear."(21)

Shakespear's documents reveal that he was entrusted with the task of utilizing this "evangelical mission", of whose eviction the British authorities in India and Afghanistan were as yet unaware, though it is possible that some remnants of the society remained and that it was these Shakespear was to enlist in subversive activities in Orenburg.

Of particular interest are also the documents concerned with the movement of British Indian troops from Kanpur /Cawnpore? - Ed./ to Shikarpur, i.e. from the remote military bases in India to Afghan territory. This was necessary not only for the offensive against the Afghan peoples but also against the peoples of Central Asia which was the next objective of English aggression after the capture of Afghanistan, although in this case it was to be preceded by the conclusion of "subsidiary agreements".

Shortly after his arrival in Khiva, Shakespear sent the Russian authorities in Orenburg a letter in which he claimed to be the "accredited representative" of the British-Indian government, and that his purpose in coming to Khiva was to mediate between the khanate and Russia. His interference in the internal affairs of the khanate and in its relations with Russia he described as "the manifestation of friendly feelings towards Russia". Before leaving for Orenburg he tried to study the Russo-Khivan communications hoping in such a way to obtain access to secret state papers of the Khivan khanate. This is proved by the letters which he sent at the beginning of August 1840 to Todd in Herat and Abbott in Orenburg, where he assumed the latter to be. These letters, which are almost identical, contain information about the situation in the khanate and his activities there. In his letter to Todd he said he was "collecting material about the first conflict of Russia and Khiva" and the circumstances connected with it, and expressed the doubt

whether he would succeed in seeing the relavant papers.

He returned to this question more than once. Among his documents are drafts of letters sent by him, extraordinarily negligently composed, from which it is evident that he strove to establish close links between Britain and the khanates. These drafts also contain references to "lengthy discussions" with Khivan dignitaries about the policies of Russia, and there is also mention of his securing permission for Colonel Stoddart to visit Khiva from Bukhara.

As an excuse for entering Russia from Khiva, Shakespear put forward the "necessity" (?!) of accompanying Russian slaves who were in the khanate. Taking advantage of the fact that the Khivan government was obliged by Russian pressure to free these prisoners captured in the course of raids on Russian trade caravans, Shakespear travelled with them. Passing himself off as their liberator he crossed the Russian-Khivan frontier at the end of August 1840 and in September arrived in Orenburg which was the terminal point of his mission. However his plans miscarried; like Abbott he tried to represent himself as a mediator but was not recognized as such by the Russian authorities, and like his predecessor was placed under surveillance and ultimately sent back to England. He managed to return to India and took part in the punitive expedition of General Pollock in Afghanistan in the summer of 1842. For his services he was knighted and placed in command of a detachment of cavalry which operated in the Bamian region (22), i.e. on the routes to Central Asia. He was thus able to continue his work.

Shakespear's documents leave no doubt about Britain's aggressive intentions with regard to the khanates of south Turkestan and Central Asia, and reveal the support given by the highest ruling authorities in Britain for subversive activities against Russia.

Khalfin's Notes

In the following notes Khalfin's numerous references to specific letters, page numbers, etc. of the Central State Military Archives and Military Academy Record No.6996 and to other official Russian documents, have been omitted where the source of his remarks in the text are clear to the reader and it is equally clear that such sources cannot be verified. Where no editorial comment has been made against a note it is to be inferred that the book or article concerned has been examined, and that apart from minor exaggerations or mistranslation, Khalfin's text agrees with the original. - Ed.

(1) STRANSTVOVATEL' PO SUSHE I MORYAM (Wanderer on Land and Seas). E.P. Kovalevskiy. Books 1 and 2, St.P., 1843, pp.168-9. Here he tells of Shakespear's unwillingness to disclose the true nature of his activities.

Kovalevskiy says (p.168): "The short account of his journey printed by Shakespear in BLACKWOOD'S MAGAZINE /Vol.51, No.320, 1842/ is filled with mistakes, and, of course, adds little information to what we have about the places he passed through; the names of many places and people are so changed that very often it is impossible to guess what or whom he is speaking of."

Kovaleskiy's next paragraph is of some interest: "It is remarkable that Shakespear, setting off from Herat, counted, so it seems, on the hospitality of the Turkmen, and is astonished when he does not find it; this hospitality of nomad peoples exists only in the imagination of poets." -Ed.

(2) TURKESTAN. I.V. Mushketov. Vol.I, St.P., 1886, p.113.

A well-known orientalist, N.I. Veselovskiy, described Shakespear's journal as "empty" (see OCHERK ISTORIKO-GEOGRAFICHESKIKH SVEDENIY O KHIVINSKOM KHANSTVE OT DREVNEYSKIKH VREMEN DO NASTOYASHCHEGO (A Historical Geographical Account of the Khiva Khanate from the Earliest Times to the Present Day). N.I. Veselovskiy, St.P., 1877, p.315).

For the statement "much of their information is positively (polozhitel'no) false", Mushketov refers to T.Fr. Basiner's NATURWISSENSCHAFTLICHE REISE DURCH DIE KIRGISENSTEPPE NACH CHIWA, St.P., 1848, XI; Ya.Khanykov's OPISANIYE BUKHARSKOGO KHANSTVA, St.P., 1843, p.345, "and others".

Veselovskiy (loc.cit.), in the course of a note on the Russian prisoners at Khiva says of Abbott and Shakespear: "They appeared at Khiva as uninvited mediators, and as such, because they were not wanted, were sent away. . . These agents had been commissioned to persuade the khan to liberate all the Russian prisoners, and Abbott's zeal in this went so far that he offered Allah-Kul to ransom all our prisoners; but since he had no money the khan drove him out of his kibitka with blows.

The prisoners were freed in a different way, and not as a result of Shakespear's insistence." -Ed.

(3) TRAVELS IN THE HIMALAYAN PROVINCES OF HINDUSTAN AND PANJAB IN LADAKH AND KASHMIR, IN PESHAWAR, KABUL AND BOKHARA BY MR. WILLIAM MOORCROFT AND MR. GEORGE TREBECK FROM 1819 TO 1825. Ed. from the original journals and correspondence by H.H. Wilson, Vols.I, II, London, 1841; Vol.II, p.472.

The preface says that Moorcroft's efforts "were undertaken not only without the encouragement of the Government of India, but without their expressed approbation. A cold permission was Mr. Moorcroft's only incitement. . ." and that it was he who sent Mir Izzet Ullah on his journey.

The remark about "a considerable network of agents" suggests that the phrase "the native Agent" has been misunderstood. Abbott, also (p.177), calls himself "a British agent", meaning "a British representative". -Ed.

(4) Abstract of Proceedings relative to trade on the Indus by George Adams Esq., as an appendix to James Burnes's NARRATIVE OF A VISIT TO THE COURT OF SINDE AT HYDERABAD ON THE INDUS. Edinburgh-London, 1839, pp.65, 66-69.

It has not been possible to locate either this publication or Masson's "The Trade of Kabul" also referred to by Khalfin in this context. -Ed.

(5) AFGHANISTAN AND THE ENGLISH IN 1841-2. K.V. Neumann. Moscow, 1848. p.183.

There is no trace of this book. -Ed.

(6) A PEEP INTO TURKISTAN. R. Burslem. London, 1846, p.135 and others.

Burslem's actual words are: "Another traveller [he does not give his nationality] came across us this day, who had resided some years at Kokan, and furnished us with some account of the nature of the Chinese garrison of that fort. . . My informant had been in the service of the Kokanese, and was now on his way to Hindoostan; in military notions he must have been of the famous Captain Dugald Dalgetty's school, for I afterwards met him as a non-commissioned officer in Shah Shujah's Goorkah battalion." -Ed.

(7) ENGLAND AND RUSSIA IN THE EAST. H. Rawlinson. 2nd edn., London, 1875, p.157; Burslem, op.cit., p.88.

It is not known what is meant by "Seygan". It is not mentioned by Rawlinson and can hardly be "Seistan", about which there is a great deal in his book, though nothing on p.157; in any event Seistan cannot be described as being "on the northern slopes of the Hindukush".

The expression "a further movement on Bukhara" does not occur on p.157, and is a remarkably disingenuous one. The subject being dealt with by Rawlinson is a Russian Mission to Bukhara in 1842 under Col. Butenef: "The real object of this Mission. . . was to repair the damage caused by Perofski's failure. Bokhara, in fact, was to be made, through political influence, to subserve - though, perhaps, in a minor degree - the same purpose in regard to Russia, as Afghanistan had been made to subserve in regard to British India, by military power; and it is not improbable, if all had gone smoothly at Cabul, that Butenef might have succeeded in his object. But storms were now gathering around that city, and the effect at Bokhara was to involve English and Russians in a common disgrace."

The "further movement" that Rawlinson is incorrectly said to have written of, must, clearly have been a Russian one.

Burslem, pp.87-88: It is not easy to see what is being referred to. Burslem tells how they took no letters of introduction with them into Turkestan ". . . which would necessarily

tend to mix us up with politics". They were met by some of the chiefs: "What chance had they if our views led us across the Hindoo Khoosh?" But he points out how easily the rugged country might be held by a few determined mountaineers, and then, referring to a scheme for sending a force to Bukhara to ". . . rescue poor Stoddart", he indicated what he believes to be the "least impossible" route. There is nothing here to confirm what is attributed to Rawlinson.

There is nowhere anything to be found that would confirm the existence of "British plans for an immediate invasion of Central Asia" (see p.391, para.5). -Ed.

(8) HISTORY OF THE WAR IN AFGHANISTAN, J.W. Kaye. London, 1874, Vol.II, pp.86-95.

General Sale is certainly mentioned in these pages, but there is nothing about a rout in the Parvan gorge, though Dost Mahomed had a success near a village called Parwandurrah, which may be the same name. Opolcheniye is presumably intended to render Kaye's "armed population of a hostile country". -Ed.

(9) A COLLECTION OF TREATIES, ENGAGEMENTS AND SANADS RELATING TO INDIA AND NEIGHBOURING COUNTRIES. C.U. Aitchison. Vol.XI, 4th edn., Calcutta, 1909, pp.337-40.

There is (a) CLI, a Memorandum of certain wishes and expectations of Yar Mahomed Khan, agreed to by Major Todd, dated 9th June 1839; and (b) CLII, a Treaty of Alliance between the East India Company and Shah Kamran of Herat dated 13th August 1839. The monthly sum of 25,000 rupees is mentioned in neither of these documents; nor in any other, though (b) para.4 reads: "The British Government undertakes to provide His Majesty Shah Kamran with loans of money, with officers, and with all other means. . . for the protection of His Majesty's person and country. . ."

As for the control of external policy, (b) para.8 reads: "His Majesty Shah Kamran undertakes to refrain from entering into any correspondence with foreign powers without the knowledge and consent of the British representative residing at his Court"; and (b) para. 6 forbids the Shah to start hostilities without the advice and consent of the British Government and of ". . . Shah-ool-moolk". On trade (b) para.5, forbids the slave-trade, and in (b) para.10, the Shah ". . . will remove all unnecessary obstacles to the freedom of commerce, and will adopt such arrangements for increasing the facilities of traders as may appear to His Majesty, with the counsel of the British representative at his Court, to be expedient." It should be said that (b) para.9 has already said that no Europeans except English are to be allowed to reside in the Shah's country.

No "provision" for the organization of a British military-political bridgehead is made in either document. - Ed.

(10) AFGHANISTAN AND THE CENTRAL ASIAN QUESTION. F.H. Fisher. London, 1878, p.148.

Fisher says (pp.147-8): "Colonel Stoddart. . . had. . . been sent to Bokhara by the English Minister at the Court of Persia to obtain the release of some Russians who were in captivity there, and also to conclude a friendly treaty with the Amir. . . Conolly. . . started from Cabul in the autumn of 1840, ostensibly on a mission to Khiva and Kokand. Thence, on an invitation of the Amir of Bokhara, he proceeded to that city. . . One of Conolly's reasons for visiting Bokhara was, it is said, to induce Stoddart to recant the profession of Muhammedanism he had made. . . The neglect of the Government they had served so faithfully embittered the hard fate of these officers.

One cannot see why "liberation" (<u>osvobozhdeniye</u>) should be in inverted commas. There is nothing in Fisher about the one-sidedness of the agreement, nor about its being "for joint action against Russia". -Ed.

(11) SBORNIK MATERIALOV DLYA ISTORII ZAVOYEVANIYA TURKESTANSKOGO KRAYA (A Symposium of Documents on the History of the Conquest of the Turkestan Region). Compiled by A.G. Serebrennikov. Vol.I, Tashkent, 1908, p.176. Perovskiy's forecast did not come true. The British intrigues were foiled in Bukhara which was interested in the expansion of trade with Russia. The British agents Stoddart and Conolly were arrested, and in order to seek Russian support the Emir sent his representative, Muhammed Dzhen, to Orenburg. He carried a letter "soliciting Russian protection from the English" (letter from Perovskiy to Nesselrode in the above-mentioned symposium). However, even before the arrival of Russian help and due to the altered circumstances as a result of the rout of the British army in Afghanistan, the Bukharans were themselves able to frustrate the British intrigues. In July 1842 the two British agents having been found guilty of espionage were publicly executed.

Documents not available. -Ed.

(12) JOURNEY TO KHIVA. J. Abbott. Vol.I, p.87.

The phrase referred to does not occur on p.87, but is probably taken from p.82, an account of Abbott's first audience of the Khan: "It is not my purpose to touch upon political matters at the present moment," and of "the reasons which tie my tongue as to the political details of my mission." He also speaks (p.93 and see also p.96) of Khiva's being threatened by "the presence of a Russian army of invasion"; and on p.100 he says: "Afterwards our /Abbott's and the Mehtar's/ discourse took a turn which need not be detailed. Suffice it. . . that I offered them the friendship and good offices of the greatest nation on earth." It was for the Khivans to decide whether they should reject this offer and try to cope with the Russians themselves.

As for politics, Abbott is asked by both the Khan (p.89) and the Mehtar (p.94) what the attitude of England is towards Bukhara; and the Khan is indeed advised to join the "king" of Kokand, but simply in urging the Amir of Bukhara to release Stoddart (perhaps the retention of Stoddart could be described as Bukhara's "not aligning herself with Britain). Abbott's threat that an English

army might invade Bukhara (not Khiva) related specifically to the seizure of Stoddart. -Ed.

(13) Ibid., p.100.

"The Khan Huzurut had instructed the Mehtur to give me all possible information respecting affairs upon the frontier" (p.96; see also pp.98, 99). Nothing is said here, or elsewhere, about Abbott's "insistence", and it is quite clear that he was most suspicious of what information he did get. What he does say on p.100 is: "The result I derived from this interview was simply, that the Vuzeer was bent upon deceiving me, with a view to hold cheap the assistance of England. Information I had gained none, all that was true I had previously heard, and the greater part I knew to be false." An amusing thing is that Abbott was suspected at Khiva of being a Russian and/or English spy "for the English were only a clan of Russians" (pp.107, 117, 118, 134, 136, 171).

On p.158 Abbott tells how, the Khan having undertaken, and delayed, to send his (Abbott's) messages to Herat, "I had. . . previously despatched to Heraut packets by two separate messengers. The operation was a delicate one." Perhaps this is Abbott "creating his own sabotage network in the khanate and beyond its borders"; there is no other trace of it, nor of any mention of his attempting "to take over the direction of the building of fortifications against Russia"; unless this last refers to a discussion with the Khan (pp.133-4) on the possibility of setting up a hydraulic telegraph in the khanate. -Ed.

(14) SBORNIK MATERIALOV DLYA ISTORII ZAVOYEVANIYA TURKESTANSKOGO KRAYA (see (11) above). Vol.II, pp.140-4.

Document not available. As for his having had "actually no intention of going to Russia" etc., it need only be said that he mentioned this purpose of his to the Khan several times while he was in Khiva (pp.87, 130, 168). -Ed.

(15) COLLECTED WORKS. K. Marx and F. Engels. Vol.XI, Pt.2, pp.267-8; Vol.XII, Pt.2, pp.189, 208; LETTERS FROM ENGLAND, L. Blanc. Vol.II, St.P., 1866, pp.52-58.

In Vol.XI of the Russian edition (apparently of 1924) of the COLLECTED WORKS, which is the only one available, pp.267-8 are blank. Vol.XII we have been unable to trace. In Vol.XI there are, however, 122 references to Palmerston scattered throughout the book, which it has not been possible to check for Khalfin's statement. But his point is partly supported by Blanc's LETTERS FROM ENGLAND. The St.Petersburg edition of 1866 is not available, but the English edition of 1866, Vol.II, pp.42 and 43 (letter LXVII of 9th May 1862) repeats Khalfin's allegations. -Ed.

(16) DAVID URQUHART: SOME CHAPTERS IN THE LIFE OF A VICTORIAN KNIGHT-ERRANT OF JUSTICE AND LIBERTY. G. Robinsone, Oxford, 1920.

(17) ANGLO-RUSSIAN RELATIONS CONCERNING AFGHANISTAN 1837-1907. W. Habberton, Urbana, 1937, p.21.

(18) Captain Conolly's Mission to Central Asia, THE TIMES, 3rd September 1892.

(19) STRANSTVOVATEL' PO SUSHE I MORYAM (Wanderer on Land and Seas). E.P. Kovalevskiy (see (1)), p.168; also DICTIONARY OF NATIONAL BIOGRAPHY, London, 1897, pp.346-7.

There is nothing on Kovalevskiy, p.168, about Shakespear's arriving in Herat to train local soldiers and to assist Todd in a political capacity.

DICTIONARY OF NATIONAL BIOGRAPHY (Vol.51) does not give the date of Shakespear's arrival in Herat, but he is said to have left on 14th June 1840 for Khiva "to aid in the negotiation for the surrender of the Russian captives,

whose detention had led to the Russian advance". Here again the Russian captives are mentioned; and again Khalfin ignores them, although Shakespear's negotiations appear to have been successful. -Ed.

(20) MISSIONERY I MISSIONERSKIYE SHKOLY NA SEVERE (Missionaries and Missionary Schools in the North). A.G. Bazanov and N.G. Kazanskiy, Arkhangel'sk, 1936, p.19.

This book cannot be traced. -Ed.

(21) ISTORIYA ZAVOYEVANIYA SREDNEY AZII. M.A. Terent'yev, Vol.I, St.P., 1906, p.120.

(22) AFGHANISTAN: FROM DARIUS TO AMANULLAH. G. Macmunn, London, 1929, p.149.

BOOK ANALYSES AND REVIEWS

PRISOYEDINENIYE KAZAKHSTANA K ROSSII (The Annexation of Kazakhstan to Russia). E.B. Bekmakhanov. Moscow, A.N., 1957. 340pp.

This is a scholarly, well-documented, and detailed book in two parts, The Union of the Middle and Great Hordes with Russia, and The Progressive Consequences of the Union of Kazakhstan with Russia.

The introduction (pp.3-7)(1): After saying that the whole history of Kazakhstan before the October Revolution was one of the struggle of the toilersagainst their oppressors, and after a reference to the XXth Party Congress and the cult of personality. it tells of the voluntary union of Kazakhstan with Tsarist Russia, and goes on to speak of the joint revolutionary struggle of Kazakh and Russian workers at the end of the nineteenth century, and of the role of the Kazakhs in the first Russian revolution. The "friendship of the great Russian people" is emphasized here and throughout the book. The work deals with the nineteenth century, and for the union of the Lesser Horde (1731) and the 1916 Rising the reader is referred to the works of M.P. Vyatkin and N.G. Apollova.

There follows (pp.8-22) a review of the pertinent literature and archives.

Chapter 1 (pp.25-67): The Social and Economic Situation of Kazakhstan on the Eve of its Union with Russia: The forces of production were at a standstill. The areas of nomadism are described, and the tribal organization, numbers, and economy (chiefly very primitive stock-breeding) of the three Hordes; early contacts with the Russians, the beginnings and growth of trade (pp.33-34; 69); the introduction of money (pp.35,45; 71,74) and its weakening effect on the economy; hired labour and seasonal work (pp.36,45). After saying (p.37) that the subject has been obscured by accounts of "the so-called tribal democracy in the Kazakh aul before the Revolution", the author describes the social grouping in the first half of the nineteenth century: the "White Bones", the higher Muslim clergy, the shariat and adat, Islam's being the religion of the ruling class and alien to the people, especially in the North (though its influence there increased in the second half of the century), illiteracy, the tarkany, batyry, and bai (pp.38-45)(2). There follows (pp.45-50) a study of the relationship of the people and their stock to the land (the theory that among nomads, especially the Kazakhs, feudalism took a

peculiar course, is a fallacy (p.46). The concentration of stock in the hands of the feudal "nobility" led to their assuming possession of the best pastures (supported by the Tsarist government) and to a sharp class struggle within Kazakh society (pp.48,49,50,65-66). The chapter ends (pp.57-67) with an account of feudal services, social conditions of labour, levies in kind, the blood fine and others, the vengeance raid (barymta) - all these, the author remarks, profitable to the feudal overlords - slavery (p.60, also p.109), originally prisoners of war, authorized by the Tsarist government in 1755, but a beginning of its abolition made in 1822; the tyulenguty and their relationship to the land (pp.62-65; also p.145), the tribal cry (uran) and tribal seniority.

Chapter 2 (pp.68-88): The Struggle of the Kazakh Peasantry (sharua) against Feudalism and Colonialism: The formation of the Inner (Bukey) Horde, and the consequent social and economic changes (all accompanied by cruel exploitation of the masses) (p.75): the redistribution of the land, mostly to the ruling class or the Tsarist government; trade (chiefly barter); the beginning of settled life; vaccination; veterinary surgery; schools(pp.70-75). In the 1830s the sharua were demanding land, as were the Russian peasants in the Orenburg and Samara gubernii (p.75); migrations across the R. Ural, 1818 and 1827-29 (pp.77-84); risings of the Inner Horde under Isatay Taymanov and Makhambet Utemisov between 1818 and 1837; Tsarist colonial policy supported the feudal lords. Anglo-Russian rivalry is touched on, and opposition to the Union from the Kazakh ruling class; there follows a list of benefits which accrued from the Union (pp.85-88).

Chapter 3 (pp.89-106): British Machinations and the Opposition of the Central Asian Khans to the Union: The effect of the threat from Britain should not be exaggerated. The Union was brought about by a strengthening of good-neighbourly relations between the Russian peasantry and the sharua (p.89). The British (pp.90,92,93) and Russian policies contrasted, Russia's being the safeguarding of her frontiers. "Tsarist policy in Central Asia was indeed one of conquest (imela zavoyevatel'nyy kharakter), but none the less the inclusion (vklyucheniye) of Kazakhstan in the territory of Russia had, by its social, economic, and cultural consequences, a great progressive significance." (p.90)(3). Khivan expansion and conquest of Merv; first Russian expedition against Khiva; British expedition to Afghanistan (1839); British agents in Central Asia (including Joseph Wolff)(p.92); political structure of the khanates; Kokand aggression, Russian measures against it, and risings of the Kazakh sharua (pp.97-106).

Chapter 4 (pp.107-20): The Reactionary Nature of the Feudal-monarchial Movements in Kazakhstan: These took place in the 1820s and 1830s (there was association of some of the sharua with the more progressive Russian workers) (pp.107-8), and were caused by Tsarist reforms aimed at liquidating the power of the khans, and by social, economic, and judicial changes after the Union of the Lesser Horde (pp.108-9,123). Kenesary Kasymov: his correspondence with Nicholas I (p.115); Russian trade with Central Asia paralysed; he treats with the other khans; opposition to him in Kazakhstan; a comparison with Stalin's account of Georgia (pp.110-20)(4).

Chapter 5 (pp.121-60): The Union of the Middle and Greater Hordes with Russia: Earlier contact between Russia and the Kazakhs: Ivan III; Peter I; Pugachov; the voluntary union with Russia of the Lesser Horde and northern part of the Middle Horde, 1731, rescues them from Dzhungarian domination; feudal opinion divided; union of the rest of the Kazakhs follows about a century later (pp.121-3); the structure and policy of Tsarist Russia, "the prison of peoples", in the first half of the nineteenth century; the tent-tax, etc.(pp.124-8; cf.278,281); the political structure of the Middle and Greater Hordes, and the democratic, cultural, and revolutionary help given them by the great Russian people (pp.128-9); the Kazakhs could choose either to be swallowed by the Central Asian khanates and feudal China, or to become Russian citizens; the Middle and Greater Hordes voluntarily chose the latter (pp.130-2; 139); Kokand; the Chinese border; the realization of British ambitions would have been the greatest misfortune to the people of Kazakhstan, but the union with Russia, although it brought the usual oppression and colonialism, yet had deep progressive significance and gave a real impulse to the forces of production (pp.136-40); social, cultural, and economic changes; appropriation of common land; growth of agriculture and trade, and use of money (pp.140-4; also pp.35,45,71,74); growth and enrichment of the bay class; the tyulenguty (p.145; also 61-65); the influence of Islam; the risings of the sharua of the Bukey Horde, 1836-37; Tsarist taxation (p.146; cf.127); Russian immigration: peasants, Cossack soldiers; new agricultural implements (the Kazakhs imitate Russian customs, etc.)(pp.146-52; cf.169-71); "brotherhood" (tamyrstvo) (p.154; cf.173)(5); influence of progressive Russian culture, and interest taken by Shevchenko, Pushkin, Dahl, and other writers (pp.155-60).

Part Two:
Chapter 6 (pp.165-216): The Development of Capitalism in Russia and its Influence on the Economy of Kazakhstan in the Second Half of the Nineteenth Century: The emancipation of the serfs, 1861, and the expansion of capitalism in Russia; border areas, including Kazakhstan, are swept into the whirlpool and "serve as colonies for Russian capitalism" (Lenin) (pp.165-6); immigration of Russian settlers, 1860s-80s, and after the famine in central

Russia, 1891; Shcherbina's expedition, 1895; improvements in agriculture, especially haymaking (pp.167-71; 152); some Kazakhs wish to settle; houses, samovars, flour; better seed and breeding stock; tamyrstvo between settlers and natives (pp.165-73)(6); Tsarist administrative and judicial reforms, 1867, 1868, 1891: these reinforced the military-colonial regime in Kazakhstan allied to the existing feudal authorities, but did facilitate contact with progressive Russian capitalism (pp.174-8); agriculture, as ever, lagged behind industry and trade; consequences of the introduction of money; tables of comparative poverty and wealth (pp.178-81, 194); ownership of land, hired labour; the dzhataki forming an agricultural and industrial proletariat (miners, etc.); numbers of them in northern Kazakhstan (pp.182-9; also p.53); official Russian objection at the end of the nineteenth century, to the settlement of Kazakhs; a few dzhataki become rich; chief changes: break-up of the patriarchal-feudal relationship; decay of nomadic stock-breeding; formation of an agricultural proletariat; the secondary importance of home-industries; the higglers (skupshchiki: alypsatory); the credit-system (pp.190-7); struggle for land in the second half of the nineteenth century; primitive agriculture and irrigation; development deliberately hindered; decay of home-industries (wood, hide, bone, wool) and handicrafts (tables); certain wares now being supplied by factories; shoemakers ("real craftsmen" - Shcherbina (p.169)), carpenters and smiths have as yet no competition from factories (pp.202-4); in the second half of the century crafts, hitherto drawing raw materials from, and supplying wares to, the aul economy, became divorced from it, set up independently, were paid in money instead of in kind, and fell into the power of the higglers (p.191); but the number of hired labourers was still insignificant (p.205); intensification of the class-struggle, etc., at the end of the century; factories, capitalist-owned mines, metallurgy, oil-industry, all on a colonial basis (Ekibastuz, Karaganda), gold, railways; improved technology in the early twentieth century; growth of towns (tables) (pp.205-14).

Chapter 7 (pp.217-44): The Influence of Russian Progressive, Democratic Culture on . . . the Views of Kazakh Democratic "Enlighteners": Kazakh democratic traditions before the 1860s: byliny, etc. (p.217); the great merit of the "enlighteners" was that they could distinguish the two Russias: of the Tsar, and of the people, and saw the necessity of the Kazakhs' being united to the people (p.219); Chokan Valikhanov (1837-65): friendship with and differences from Dostoyevskiy; in Petersburg in the 1860s; Hertsen, Chernyshevskiy, Dobrolyubov; self-government for Kazakhstan; his mistaken ideas; protest against slavery; mistrust of Islam and "the Tatar mullahs"; appeal for schools; the wideness of his sympathies; on the status of women (pp.221-8, 258-9)(7); Ibray Altynsarin (1841-88): views on popular education; the education of women; the economic development of Kazakhstan; educational work; trust in the reforms of 1868; a remarkable poet and writer (pp.228-37,

260-1); Abay Kunanbayev (1845-1904): son of a ferocious, grasping feudal lord; went of his own accord to a Russian school; learned in Kazakh folklore and classical oriental literature; contact with political exiles in Kazakhstan; "learn from the Russians: that is the key to life"; translated great Russian writers into Kazakh; supporter of settled agriculture for the Kazakhs; praise of the Uzbeks and Tatars; his verse; views on popular education; mistaken appraisals of his work (pp.38-44, 261-2, 288).

Chapter 8 (pp.245-63): The External Political Situation of Kazakhstan, 1850-70: "The peoples of Central Asia and Kazakhstan had the choice between being united with the liberating, revolutionary struggle of the Russian workers and falling beneath the yoke of British colonizers." British aims and methods (pp.245, 253); Turkey; the USA; Germany; pan-Islamism; Islam not very influential in Kazakhstan, and the religion only of the ruling classes; the written shariat and the oral adat; shamanism; the nomads had few mosques and medresses, and a too superficial knowledge of Arabic (pp.246-7); growth of Islam by the end of the century, fostered by Tsarism which, nevertheless, limited the powers of the mullahs (pp.248-50); the rising of Dzhankodzha Nurmukhammedov, 1856-57, wrongly interpreted (pp.250-3); Anglo-Russian relations; Merv; prisoyedineniye of the khanates (pp.253-5); increase of pilgrimage to Mecca, etc.; Turkish influence; Yakub-Bek; Kashgar; Sinkiang; the "enlighteners" (pp.255-63; 221-44).

Chapter 9 (pp.263-82): The Social and Economic Situation in Kazakhstan during the Imperialist Period: The end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth centuries: capitalism at its highest and last stage of development - imperialism; peculiarities of Russian imperialism: influx of foreign capital (pp.263,266); imperialism exports capital to colonies - or backward border areas like Kazakhstan - and builds factories there, small at first (tables), to work up local raw materials where labour is cheap (p.264); rapacious and inexperienced foreign concessionaires in Kazakhstan (pp.266, 271-2); the formation of a Kazakh proletariat, agricultural and industrial, a positive (polozhitel'noye) consequence of capitalism; "fabulous" profits; cheap women's and children's labour (pp.268,272); Tsarist policy interested in light industry and food production: the rest was in the hands of foreign capitalists; the small numbers of the proletariat of both Kazakhs and Russian immigrants (the latter more skilled) in the early twentieth century; working conditions, equally bad for both (in mines, etc.), drew them together; the truck system; fines; bad living-quarters (pp.269-73, 274); the mass agrarian movement in European Russia and fear of revolution stimulated Tsarist migration policy; as before, the best land taken from the Kazakhs (tables); the tent tax (pp.274-8, 281; cf.127-8); sharper social differentiation; the poorer Kazakhs let their land to big landowners and seek work in

towns; the Kazakh nationalistic intelligentsia spread pan-Turkic propaganda and found a political alliance with Russian Constitutional Democrats (KD) (p.280); the tribal social structure still existed at the beginning of the century; the backward sharua felt drawn towards the poorer and less well equipped of the immigrants; the bad treatment of both pre-ordained the participation of Kazakh workers in the first Russian revolution (pp.280-2).

Chapter 10 (pp.283-320): The Revolutionary Struggle of Kazakh and Russian Workers at the End of the Nineteenth and the Beginning of the Twentieth Centuries: The revolutionary movement was not "brought into Kazakhstan from outside"; strikes and sabotage in the 1890s (pp.283-4); industrial crisis in Russia, 1901-2, and its effects in Kazakhstan; strikes at the Mikhaylovsky mine, 1902; of both Russian and Kazakh workers at Ekibastuz, 1903; of coal-miners at Karaganda, 1903, led by a Kazakh (p.285); work of the Bolshevik Party in the border areas; influence in Kazakhstan of political exiles and professional revolutionaries sent by the Social Democratic Party (SD); Kuybyshev, Frunze, Husain Yamashev; various revolutionary groups in Kazakhstan (pp.286-9, 238); L.N. Rum; effects of the Russo-Japanese War; 9th January 1905; unrest of workers in Tashkent railway workshops; revolutionary proclamation "To Mussulmans", 1905; schism in the Kazakh SD Party: most support Bolsheviks; revolutionary movement in Kazakhstan an organic part of the whole, though weak for various reasons; strike movement of Oct. and Nov. 1905, over the whole of Russia widely reflected in Kazakhstan (pp.290-305; cf.316-17); the bourgeois-nationalist movement; pan-Turk and pan-Islam movements and SD opposition to them (pp.306-7); Russian and Kazakh teachers' particular role; the agrarian movement: its historical importance; it united Kazakh workers with Russian settlers (pp.308-9); use of armed force, 1906; increased repression by Tsarist authorities after 1905-7 (pp.310-33); work of the SD (p.313); peasants now oppose not only local but Tsarist authority; close friendship between Kazakh and Russian peasants; work of local Bolsheviks; election of the Duma (pp.315-6); the second Duma: reasons for its failure (pp.317-8); Kazakh national liberation movement of 1905-7 spontaneous, not organized and not directed against the whole ruling system; trust in the Duma retained; native working class was small and Russian workers could not help enough; SD not sufficiently homogeneous; patriarchal and tribal survivals blinded the Kazakhs to their own interests; but the unsuccessful revolution woke them from their centuries-long sleep, showed them where their interests lay, and laid the foundation of the international unity of the Kazakh and Russian peoples (pp.318-20).

Conclusion (pp.321-4): gives as the chief reason for the Union the acute international situation of Kazakhstan; and Khrushchev is quoted as speaking of "the organic continuation of socialist patriotism" and as saying: "Friendship with the great Russian people: that is a victorious movement ahead along the path of progress, along the path of Communism."

A bibliography (pp.327-40) follows, and a list of the collections of archives consulted (p.341).

Notes

(1) For the Kazakh-Kirgiz revolt of 1916 see THE FORMATION OF THE SOVIET UNION. R. Pipes, Harvard U.P., 1957, p.84.

(2) For the shariat and adat see also VAZHNYY ETAP IZ ISTORII KIRGIZKOGO NARODA. Dzhamgerchinov, pp.24-28, analysed in CENTRAL ASIAN REVIEW, Vol.VI, No.3, pp.308-11.

(3) This is said of the beginning of the nineteenth century; cf. with it this sentence from p.123: "Do kontsa VIII v. tsarskaya Rossiya k territorial'nym priobreteniyam ne pribegala, ee politika v eto vremya byla napravlena na ukrepleniye dobrososedskikh otnosheniy." (Until the end of the eighteenth century Tsarist Russia did not resort to territorial conquests, her policy at that time was directed at consolidating good-neighbourly relations.) Cf. also p.106.

(4) For Kenesary Kasymov see also Dzhamgerchinov, op.cit., pp.18-23.

(5) Cf. p.173, also Dzhamgerchinov, op.cit., p.50.

(6) Dzhamgerchinov, p.50.

(7) See also pp.258-9 (linguistics); Dzhamgerchinov, pp.55-56.

RUSSLAND UND DER MESSIANISMUS DES ORIENTS. Emanuel Sarkisyanz. J.C.B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), Tuebingen, 1955. 498pp, bibliog., index of persons.

The main interest of this book is that it sets Russian Messianic and millennium ideas into a comparative study of these ideas and aspirations in Islam, Hinduism and Buddhism; and of their national manifestations in Java, Burma, and the 'Black Messiahs' of Africa. It is more than yet another examination of 'Holy Russia', the 'Third Byzantium', or of Leninism as the fulfilment of the dual aspirations ever present in Russian national consciousness, first because it does not look at these ideas and moods in isolation, and secondly because it seeks to examine their repercussions on the similar ideas and aspirations of the great Asian religions. The sweep of this undertaking is very wide indeed, and to give it depth Mr.Sarkisyanz has covered an immense range of material, much of it admittedly that of other sociologists and observers. To say this is not to detract from his merit: he has chosen works of great scholarship and the evidence of men who have given a lifetime of study to the civilizations and ideas which they have sought to portray, such as Professors G. Coedes, P. Mus, H.A.R. Gibb, E.G. Browne. His study of myth, ideologies, and utopias is not a series of facile observations, but a serious effort to estimate their strength as springs of human behaviour which, sooner or later according to circumstance, takes political forms in the widest sense of the word. It is almost inevitable that the book is crammed with quotations since the subject matter is so broad, and though at times one longs for some clear pages of sustained analysis or for the vividness of a reaction not at one remove, such as can make one novel more illuminating than a course of sociology, one must admit that Mr. Sarkisyanz is not dominated by his material and that he uses his quotations to pin-point and illustrate his argument and not as a screen for lack of original thought. The bibliographical footnotes are excellent.

One of the author's main conclusions is that the Revolution came at the point in history when it was most likely to make the maximum impact on Asia: "Aber auch ausser diesen Parallelen bzw. Beruehrungspunkten mit Asien musste schon die chronologische Spaetentwicklung des russischen Chiliasmus diesen in ideologischen Gegesatz zum Okzident bringen. Denn er gehoert eigentlich einer geistesgeschichtlichen Phase an, die der Okzident laengs hinter sich gelassen hat. War aber der russische Chiliasmus im Verhaeltnis zu Europa ein Anachronismus. . . so war er es durchaus nicht in Verhaeltnis zu Asien".

This was the point when sooner or later 'the world' was bound to seek to reassert itself against 'the West' (in the Toynbee sense) and the very ambivalence of Russia, striving to catch up with the West but not wholly of it, made events there more pertinent. That many Asian peoples could apprehend and

sympathize with the ideas and hopes which were released at the Revolution was not only because these same hopes and beliefs ran through their own great religions, but because at that particular period they felt themselves belittled and dispossessed. And when "the whole of Russia had had its roof torn off" it looked for a while as if the meek really would inherit the earth. Mr. Sarkisyanz is a little too sweeping in thinking that Europe had altogether finished with such thoughts. It was true for the established Churches and for the confident societies which had grown up around them, but the gropings for a millennium and the belief that a spiritual leader could arise and right all wrongs were to be found in many nineteenth century sectarian movements. This qualification, however, does not affect the author's main thesis.

Another pertinent point made by Mr. Sarkisyanz concerns the force of the initial impact and the permanence of its effect, in spite of the fact that the real revolutionary period - the 'Lenin years' - lasted only a short while and has long since been overlaid by the ideologically barren years that followed and in which power politics and a total subservience to material success were exhibited - the very things for which Asians rebuked the West. He is shrewd enough to point to the stress put on the points of contact and similitude by the bolshevik leaders: for example, the representation (in 1928) of the early Shiites as a disguised communist peasant movement, the introduction of the 'Lenin myth' into the oral epic of primitive peoples of the Far North and East, the description of the Burkhan movement (of the Buryats, in the nineteenth century) as a progressive revolutionary phenomenon. But he realizes that this cannot be a sufficient explanation, and the search for the fundamental affinities is the subject matter of the book. It is the fundamental nature of these, their juxtaposition at a certain phase in world history that has produced the lasting effect, not dimmed by the years of betrayal. The Asian nations which have emerged (from a series of causes of which the 1917 Revolution was only one) are now strong enough not to feel disturbed by a fallen idol, and above all are free to adapt and experiment with their own ways of salvation. This enables them to admire the Soviet Union as a strong country playing a successful game among the strong, but no longer to feel committed to - or betrayed by - its ideology. Mr. Sarkisyanz writes:

"Der neue Superimperialismus bolschewistischer Praegung, welcher sich ausserhalb Russlands uebernationaler Motiv bedienen kann, aber dennoch ausschliesslich sowjetrussischen Staatsinteressen dienen soll, hat Russlands aussenpolitische Stellung in Asien ungeheuer gestaerkt. Aus denselben Gruenden hat er aber den Kommunismus als Ideologie in Asien - in Verhaeltnis zur Zeit Lenins - bedeutend geschwaecht."

Incidentally, communism has had little impact on Africa south of the Sahara mainly because Africans were not in touch with Russian revolutionary thought of the first 25 years of the century; their contacts were in the main when the

pattern of the Stalin period was assuming its rigid lines. (Another reason was the blunder made by the Politbureau in thinking that negroes both in the States and in Africa sought for solutions along the lines of communalism.)

Mr. Sarkisyanz is unequivocal in showing the betrayal of the ideas which created the Revolution, the deflection into stultifying and cement-bound channels of the springs which fed it:

"Im Narodnitschestwo der frueheren 1870er Jahre hatte der russische Geist seinen Hoehenpunkt erreicht. Mit Dostojewski hat er die tiefsten Schicksalsfragen der historischen Wendestunde gestellt. Sie zu loesen war Russland nicht vergoennt."

Personally one may not accept the view that the master strategist Lenin was the incarnation of Russian messianic ideals, but that is beside the point. On the level of mystique and myth on which Mr. Sarkisyanz moves, it is the Lenin myth that matters and the myth has become steadily more powerful and more definitely centered on Lenin as the reality - the factual results of the superhuman efforts and exultations, of the blood and hunger - have become more and more apparent and known to the world in general. He is consequently justified in putting the turning point in the period of the First Five-Year Plan. But it is questionable whether he is wise in dismissing rather too lightly the emergence of another mystique - that of a sprawling, backward country transforming itself by its own efforts into a modern industrial giant. Since, however, it is to this aspect of the impact of the Soviet Union on Asia that most western observers devote their attention, a thoughtful, well-documented book, emerging from an immense background of reading, on the nature of the early and never to be forgotten ideological harmonies is a timely contribution to the subject.

THE ATLAS OF SIBERIA. By Semyon U. Remezov. Facsimile edition with an introduction by Leo Bagrow. Published by Mouton & Co., The Hague, 1958. (Sole Distributors in the U.K. International University Booksellers Ltd., London.) Price: £6. 5s. 171 maps.

This is a photographic reproduction of an old Russian atlas of Siberia, the KHOROGRAFICHESKAYA CHERTEZHNAYA KNIGA, by Semyon Remezov, a cartographer of the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. In those days it was the river

system and not the system of astronomical points which served as a basis for the drawing of all Russian geographical maps. There were no geodesists in ancient Russia - the first group was formed early in the eighteenth century by I. Kirilov on the orders of Peter the Great.

Remezov's atlas is an interesting specimen of the early cartography of Russia. The original was apparently preserved by the Remezov family at Tobol'sk. Although the atlas bears a dedication to Peter the Great written in Remezov's own hand, the supplementary maps were probably added to it after his first visit to Moscow. Having copied there the maps formerly unknown to him, he took back the atlas to Tobol'sk. At a later date it was found in the Vorontsov-Dashkov collection, a stamp of which it bears. Afterwards it fell into the possession of the Archeographic Commission, whence it was borrowed by the Settler Commission with the purpose of reproducing some of its maps in an atlas of Asiatic Russia the Committee was then preparing for publication (1914). Presumably it stayed there until the 1917 revolution, during which it fell into the hands of a bookseller by whom it was sold - in 1923 - to Leo Bagrow from Berlin, the founder of IMAGO MUNDI, a review of early cartography, who undertook its publication in the Netherlands. The original atlas is in the library of Harvard University.

All Remezov's maps were of course drawn according to the old Russian method: a map of the river basin was first made. Thus Remezov's atlas presents a collection of maps mainly of rivers; each of these maps is cut into several sections to conform to the size of the book (30 x 195cm.). The scale differs for each map; some rivers are complete on one page only, while others require several pages. The number of pages, however, is not in proportion to the actual length of the rivers - those situated nearer Tobol'sk, and consequently better known, are drawn on a large scale: the Ob' (4,026km.) occupies 10 sheets, the Lena (4,264km.) five sheets and the Amur (4,354km.) three sheets.

The maps of the rivers of east Siberia, the Lena, Kolyma and Amur, are doubtless copies of other maps brought to Tobol'sk at an earlier date. All these were copied by Remezov together with maps of the coasts of the Arctic and Pacific oceans, and were included in his atlas KHOROGRAFICHESKAYA KNIGA. The general map of Siberia is somewhat defective and the western part of it has evidently been lost; only the section comprising the territory between the Anadyr and the Amur has been preserved.

The first edition of the book bore a dedication to Peter the Great dated 7205 September 1st., i.e. 1st September 1696. The book begins with copies of various orders, reports, etc., i.e. materials connected with its compilation. Then follow the preface and the index with the dedication to the Tsar, the coat of arms of Siberia, a town-plan of Tobol'sk, a compass and scale-

cartouche, an explanation of the abbreviations, introduction, and description of the roads. The maps follow, drawn on one side of the page only, the other side being reserved for explanatory text, etc. This plan however, was not carried through and the explanatory text is only to be found on a few of the earlier pages.

This edition, however, remained uncompleted and it was never presented to Peter the Great. In 1700 Remezov completed all his maps and signed his atlas as completed on 1st January 1701. In fact he has replaced his original work by another and larger volume. A few additional maps, which can be ascribed either to Semyon Remezov himself or to one of his sons, are to be found in this atlas, which was given the name of CHERTEZHNAYA KNIGA (Book of Maps). Several of the original maps, which had been included in the first atlas, KHOROGRAFICHESKAYA KNIGA, were completed and corrected at a later date for the CHERTEZHNAYA KNIGA, or the final edition of Remezov's atlas. Copies of the maps of Yeneseysk, Krasnoyarsk, Ilimsk, Yakutsk, Irkutsk and Nerchinsk are lacking in the KHOROGRAFICHESKAYA KNIGA and there are no copies of the Perm' the Great, and the General and Ethnographic maps.

The maps include: The rivers Tobol, Miass, Sinara, Nitsa, Iset', Pyzhma, Tura, Tavda, Konda, Vagay, Ishim, Ob', Tom', Yenisey, Yaik, Nizhnyaya Tungiska, Verkhnyaya Tunguska, Selenga, Amur, Lena and the northern corner of the Lena, Aldan, Olekma, Kolyma, Angara with Lake Baykal, a plan of Tobol'sk, the town of Tobol'sk in 1689, the suburbs of Tobol'sk, the steppe and the sources of the River Irtysh, the Kazachya Orda steppe, the Mangazeyan Sea, the Turukhan maritime region, plan and panorama of Tobol'sk, Tobol'sk and Verkhotur'ye districts 1697, Isetsk town 1695, the Kazakh Horde 1697, Siberia 1687, and a map of the Chinese Empire.

THE TURKIC LANGUAGES AND LITERATURES OF CENTRAL ASIA: A Bibliography. By Rudolf Loewenthal. Mouton and Co., The Hague, 1957. 212pp, Index. Price: 28 Florins.

This comprehensive and valuable work ranges over all the Turkic languages spoken not only in Central Asia but in the Caucasus, the Volga region and Siberia. It is divided into four main sections dealing with (a) existing bibliographies, (b) Old Turkic, (c) Middle Turkic, and (d) Modern Turkic languages. The last section is subdivided into General, Osmanli Turkish, Black and Caspian Sea Region, Russian and Chinese Turkestan, Altay and Siberia, and the Volga Region.

As the author points out in the introduction, the greater part of the literature on Turcology is in Russian and this no doubt accounts for another fact to which he draws attention, namely, that "in America" (and, he might have added, in Britain) "the study of the areas and cultures of the Turkic-speaking peoples has been neglected"; for Russian is still not regarded as part of the necessary linguistic equipment of an orientalist. One result of this neglect is that the western, and for that matter the rest of the eastern, world is still unaware of the work done by Soviet orientalists in the elaboration and russianization of the Turkic languages spoken in the Soviet Union.

N E W S D I G E S T

The following items are taken from newspapers, periodicals, etc., received during the period 1st July - 30th September 1958, except for more important items such as the Afro-Asia Writers' Conference which has been covered up to the time of going to press.

ADMINISTRATIVE AND TERRITORIAL CHANGES

Administrative appointments

The Supreme Soviet of the Kirgiz SSR has ratified the order of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the republic of the 6th March 1958, in respect of the following appointments:

Dikambayev, K.D.	President of the Council of Ministers of the Kirgiz SSR
Kulatov, T.	President of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Kirgiz SSR
Imankalykova, Z.	Secretary of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Kirgiz SSR

SK. 21st August 1958

Territorial Changes

Uzbekistan

By decree of the 8th September 1958 the inhabited point near Khodzheyli wharf in the Khodzheyli rayon to be included in the category of workers' settlement, with the formation in it of a settlement soviet subordinated to the Khodzheyli city executive committee. The new workers' settlement to be named Vodnik. VVS. 25th September 1958

By decree of 22nd September 1958 the Kermine rayon, Bukhara oblast, to be renamed Navoi rayon. VVS. 2nd October 1958

Tadzhikistan

By decree of 6th June 1958 the Khavalinsk rayon has been abolished and its territory incorporated into the Dangara and Aral rayons.

By decree of 27th June 1958 the following rayons have been abolished:

Kolkhozchionskiy rayon, Leninabad oblast, and its territory incorporated into the Pendzhikent rayon

Muminabad rayon, Kulyab oblast, and its territory incorporated into the Kulyab rayon

VVS. 10th July 1958

Kirgizia

By decree of 23rd July 1958 the Chon-Alayskiy rayon, Osh oblast, has been abolished and its territory incorporated into the Alayskiy rayon.

VVS. 14th August 1958

By decree of 8th September 1958 the workers' settlements of Sumsar and Shekaftar, Ala-Bukinskiy rayon, Dzhalal-Abad oblast, are to be combined into one workers' settlement known as Sumsar. VVS. 25th September 1958

Kazakhstan

A new mining town, Shakhan, has been built in the Karaganda coal basin.

KP. 10th August 1958

AGRICULTURE

Cotton

With a view to machine-harvesting, the Scientific Research Institute of the Uzbek Academy of Agricultural Sciences has been carrying out experiments with new native preparations for the treatment of young cotton-plants. One preparation, a chemical dryer containing magnesium chlorate, is sprayed on the growing plants at the end of September or beginning of October. After several days when the chemical has penetrated into the tissues of the plants all the pods burst, and this is followed by an almost complete fall of leaf from the plant. This enables the machine-harvesting of the crop to take place a month earlier than usually occurs. KT. 19th July 1958

Grain

Kazakhstan

This year the State plan provided for a grain delivery of 788m. puds+, the same figure as for the two preceding years. The farms, however, have pledged themselves to produce 1,500m. puds and to deliver 1,000m. puds to the State. The latest figures show that the Republic has delivered to the State 950,200,000 puds, only 50m. short of the target.

The harvest has been carried out in conditions of early rain- and snow-storms and frosts. The harvest is considered successful, due to good organization and the application of the two-stage system of harvesting to which there has been considerable opposition in the previous two years (see CENTRAL ASIAN REVIEW, Vol.IV, No.4, pp.364-5). This year's harvest, though excellent, does not approach the record year of 1956, when, in spite of a smaller acreage under cultivation and harvesting difficulties, yields were so high that 1,000m. puds had been delivered to the State by 10th October. This result can presumably be explained by the favourable weather.

Kazakhstan still occupies second place in grain production to the RSFSR and in the last four years has delivered as much grain to the State as in the preceding twenty-one years. Twenty-one million hectares of virgin and waste land have now been brought under the plough.

PARTIYNAYA ZHIZN' KAZ., 1958, No.2;
P. 2nd, 7th, 10th October 1958;
KP. 31st October 1958

INDUSTRY

New enterprises

A repair works for gas equipment, the largest in Central Asia, is to be set up in Bukhara. A site has already been selected, and the location of the workers' houses. The cost of the new establishment is estimated at nearly 85m. rubles. KT. 15th August 1958

A cellulose-cardboard combine is to be constructed on the western out-

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+ 1 pud = 16kg.

skirts of Kzyl-Orda. This will be one of the biggest enterprises of the chemical industry and will produce cardboard and half-cellulose. Various kinds of packing will be made from the cardboard, and artificial silk fibre will be manufactured from the half-cellulose. Waste products of the latter will go to the manufacture of synthetic resins which form the basis of plastic-faced slabs used for structural purposes such as floor covering.

KP. 9th August 1958

Marble

Extensive layers of coloured marble have been discovered on the north-west spur of the Zeravshan range near the Aman-Kutan grey marble quarry. These newly discovered layers, which show a wide range of colouring from cream to dark red, are likely to double the total output of marble in the Aman-Kutan region. PV. 5th August 1958

Sulphur

In the Kim oilfields of Tadzhikistan prospectors have found large deposits of sulphur, estimated at thousands of tons. As early as 1939 it was thought that sulphur deposits existed in this region, though for a long time geological investigation yielded no results. A preliminary estimate of the extent of the deposits has been made, and preparations for a detailed investigation are now being carried out. TI. 31st July 1958

IRRIGATION

The Kara-Kum Canal

The Turkmen Academy of Sciences is publishing the fourth in a series of volumes entitled "Materials for Research in Connection with the Planning and Construction of the Kara-Kum Canal". It deals with questions of hydrology and with geology in connection with engineering operations. This publication co-ordinates works achieved by the Academy of Sciences of the republic in conjunction with those of the Chair of Engineering Geology of the geological faculty of Moscow University under the direction of Professor Sergeyev. This volume includes numerous scientific treatises. TI. 5th August 1958

Dams

A dam is in course of construction on the Kyzketken canal at the point where the canal branches, not far from Nukus. It will be the largest in Kara-Kalpakia and will double the quantity of water available for irrigating the cotton-fields of the northern regions of the republic.

TI. 21st August 1958

Reservoirs

The new Kuyu-Mazar reservoir, one of the largest in Uzbekistan, has just been completed and is now in use. The reservoir has a capacity of more than 275m. cubic metres. TI. 21st August 1958

POLITICAL AND CULTURAL AFFAIRS

Archaeology and Ethnography

A second Buddhist temple dating from the eighth or ninth centuries has been uncovered during excavations at the ancient settlement of Ak-Beshim in the Chu valley. The temple covers an area of about 1,600 square metres and contains items of considerable archaeological interest, such as fragments of inscriptions, pieces of sculptured figures of buddhas and plastic moulding from walls and pedestals. The discoveries offer a valuable contribution to research into the history of Central Asia and, in particular, of Buddhist art. The style of the sculpture and certain peculiarities in the plan of the temple seem to indicate a connection with Afghanistan and northern India. The excavations are being carried out under the auspices of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR in conjunction with scientists of the Kirgiz Academy.
SK. 10th August 1958

An expedition of the Institute of History, Archaeology and Ethnography of the Kazakh Academy of Sciences has discovered an original picture gallery nearly 3,000 years old in the Tamgaly gorge, which lies in the spur of the Zailiisk Ala-Tau, north-west of Alma-Ata.

There are nearly a thousand engravings of animals and ritual and hunting scenes silhouetted or outlined on the rocks. According to Kazakh archaeologists the large number of drawings in one gorge is not due to chance but shows that the gorge was a place of feasts and of totem-worship.

These discoveries of rock pictures have provided additional material for the study of the life, economy and religion of the tribes which inhabited this territory thirty centuries ago. SU. No. 103, 1958

An ancient manuscript giving the history of Khorezm from the twelfth to the fifteenth centuries, the conquest by Genghiz-khan of Central Asia including northern Turkmenistan, and the struggle by the Turkmen people against the conqueror, has recently been discovered by members of the Institute of History, Archaeology and Ethnography of the Turkmen Academy of

Sciences. The manuscript, which also includes valuable information concerning economic conditions in northern Turkmenistan has now been photographed. It belongs to the oldest inhabitant in the rayon of Kun'-Urgench - Yusup Bayev, who keeps it as a family heirloom having received it from his father, who, in turn, received it from his grandfather. The pages are yellow with age and the writing is in the ancient Turkmen language in Arabic script, in black Indian ink. Scholars are of the opinion that this exceedingly rare manuscript reveals for the first time the history of mediaeval Turkmenistan.

PV. 4th July 1958

Books and Periodicals

The Uzbek Academy of Sciences is publishing, for the first time, a Russian edition of the book BABUR-NAME by Zahir Ud-din Muhammad Babur (the Emperor Babur). This book, which was written in the old Uzbek language, besides providing much valuable material from a historical, ethnographical and linguistic point of view, is of interest in view of the author, who was the founder of the empire of the Great Moghul in India. An English translation exists, from the early nineteenth century, and the book has been printed three times in the Uzbek language at Tashkent. The present Russian translation is by M.A. Sal'ye, based on the Khayd-Arabic version of BABUR-NAME.

PV. 7th August 1958

The Uzbek State University at Samarkand now has its own printing-press and publishing department. The first ten books have already appeared and consist of scientific works and popular scientific brochures. Two collections of research treatises by local scholars on Slavonic languages for the International Congress of Slavists shortly to take place in Moscow, have also been published.

PV. 29th August 1958

The first number of EDEBIYAT VE SUNGAT (Literature and Art), a new paper of the Writers' Union of Turkmenistan and of the Turkmen Ministry of Culture, has just appeared. Much space is allotted to the Conference of African and Asian Writers being held at Tashkent in October, on which subject there is an article by K. Seytlov entitled "We await this meeting". There is also a selection of verse by Asian and African writers, all of which testifies to what is being done in Turkmenistan in connection with this Conference.

TI. 6th July 1958

Conferences

The Conference of African and Asian Writers opened in Tashkent on the 9th October 1958. At the time of going to press reports of the Conference itself had not appeared in the Central Asian press. There has, however,

been considerable advance publicity and a summary of this is appended below.

On the 11th September the agenda of the Conference was published by the preparatory committee. The main subjects of consideration were:

1. The development of literature and culture in the countries of Asia and Africa, their role in the battle for the progress of humanity and national independence; in the battle against colonialism, and for freedom and peace.

2. The cultures of the peoples of Asia and Africa and their connection with the culture of the West.

The subsidiary questions of children's literature, the contribution of women to literature, the development of the drama, the connection of radio, the cinema and the theatre with literature and the development of friendly contacts between the writers of Asia and Africa are to be dealt with by sectional meetings.

The agenda, therefore, covers two themes - questions of culture, and also the more general questions of national independence and the battle against imperialism, the two sets of problems being interconnected. It is these themes which have dominated the advance publicity.

A great effort has been made in Soviet Central Asia and Kazakhstan to publicize and popularize the literatures of Afro-Asia by means of a programme of translation of foreign works into the languages of the peoples of the Soviet Union. Selections from these translations have appeared almost daily in the Central Asian press. The extracts quoted have, generally speaking, illustrated the themes of the Conference and have also frequently contained admiring and respectful references to the Soviet Union. Some of the works quoted in the press, however, such as those of Nepali poets, have been devoid of any "ideological" content, and the programme of translation has also touched on the ancient culture of Afro-Asian countries, where such a culture exists - for example A THOUSAND AND ONE NIGHTS has been translated; where no classical literature exists translations of folk-tales have been published.

These extracts have been accompanied by a series of articles on the literature of such countries as the Arab states, Indonesia and India. In these articles examination of the literature of the countries in question has been linked closely with their recent history, in particular with the circumstances in which they achieved independence.

Simultaneously Soviet Central Asian culture has been similarly publicized. Translations have been made of selected works, both modern and classical, into the other languages of Soviet Central Asia and into Russian, and articles about the literature of these areas have been appearing in the Soviet press. Stress is being laid on the Soviet character of this literature, but on at least one occasion a popular epic of the area, the Kirgiz epic MANAS, was mentioned with approval. (PV. 21.9.58.) These translations, both of foreign and of Soviet Asian writers, are intended to serve as evidence both of the flowering of an Asian culture in Soviet Central Asia and Kazakhstan, and of the interest felt in the USSR in the culture of the countries of Asia and Africa. This evidence will be presented to the foreign writers at a book exhibition to be held in Tashkent during the Conference. It is expected that the foreign writers will be interested in the cultural and material sides of life in Soviet Central Asia. Reference books are being prepared on such subjects of interest as the ancient cities of Bukhara and Samarkand, the theatre in Tashkent and the rights and working conditions of Soviet writers, and no doubt the foreign writers will be given every opportunity to visit collective farms, factories and universities.

The main aim of the Conference has been stated as being "to rally progressive writers, to unite their efforts in the battle for the relaxation of international tension, for peace and friendship between nations" (PV. 5.7.58), "/to bring together in Tashkent/ artists inspired by the ideas of solidarity, humanity, progress" (P.28.9.58). Frequent comparisons have been drawn with the Bandoeng Conference.

Both in the published selections from the volumes of translation and in articles by African and Asian writers the point has been driven home that all African and Asian countries have a common bond in the fight against imperialism and colonialism. The writers of Latin America, as reported by K. Simonov in a speech before the writers' organizations of Soviet Central Asia and Kazakhstan on the 20th of May, requested to be allowed to send observers to the conference on the grounds that they also were facing the same problems in the fight against imperialism.

The progressive role of the writers in this fight has been demonstrated whenever possible in the translations published in the press and supported by the argument that colonial dependence prevents the emergence of a distinctive national culture. Africa is adduced as an example, and the argument is here extended further to demonstrate that colonialism has destroyed a specifically African culture (using the word in a general sense) exemplified by such ancient states as Ghana.

The subsidiary aim of the Conference, therefore, is to demonstrate the unity of the writers (and by implication the peoples) of Africa and Asia in

supporting the relaxation of international tension, peace and the disappearance of colonialism and imperialism.

For the Soviet Union, however, the more important aim is to assert the claim of the USSR to be accepted as the natural leader of the peoples of Africa and Asia in the attainment of these ideals. Soviet Central Asia and Kazakhstan are being demonstrated as an area with a strong Asian culture, a high standard of living and a strong and friendly interest in the progress of other Asian and African countries in an attempt to reach this goal.

C.A. Press, July - September 1958

On the 20th May 1958 at a meeting of the writers of Central Asia and Kazakhstan at Ashkhabad the subject of the work of vernacular and Russian periodicals was discussed. The question of how well they reflected the "many-faceted, vigorous life of the republics", with reference to such subjects as the virgin lands scheme, the irrigation of the Kara-Kum desert and the reorganization of the management of industry and agriculture was considered.

Certain works were praised, among them NEBIT DAG by B. Kerbabayev, AMONG THE MOUNTAINS by T. Sydykbekov and THE BURNING STEPPE, a poem by B. Khudaynazarov. Too little attention was being paid to the essay, however. The editors gave the reasons for this as lack of interest in the genre, on the part both of the magazines and of the writers' organizations, and the inability of the magazines to send writers or qualified journalists on fact-finding expeditions.

The meeting was unanimous that the main task of Russian magazines and almanacs was to publicize the literature of the republics in which they were published. This raised the question of translation and of insufficiencies in the work of the critical sections of Russian periodicals.

SOVETSKIY KAZAKHSTAN itself came in for sharp criticism. The novel THE ROAD THROUGH THE VIRGIN SOIL by A. Kartsev, the short stories THE CRASH by N. Kuz'min and IN A CERTAIN INSTITUTE by I. Shchegolokhin and the "unsuccessful" verses of L. Krivoshchëkov were singled out for criticism. The periodical was also criticized for writing few critical articles about the works of Kazakh writers, even those which it had itself included in its "new books" section, and because there was an almost complete absence of articles on "innovation in Soviet literature", the national form and the national character, (or giving) an analysis of the specific forms taken by Kazakh literature.

The meeting came to the conclusion that what was needed was constant contact between writers and editors of the various republics, a mutual exchange of experience, mutual criticism and discussion on urgent questions of literature and art. Sov.Kaz. 1958, No.7

Education

A new handbook of the Hindi language for first year students has just been published by the Ministry of Education of Uzbekistan. The authors are M. Khardat, R. Mukhamedzhanov, A. Kosonovskiy and R. Kayumova. The book which is in three parts, is illustrated. PV. 7th August 1958

The Board of Education of Turkmenistan has ratified the school plan for 1958-9 whereby certain new subjects will be taught with a view to giving pupils passing out of secondary schools a better equipment for life. These subjects will include civil law and law applying to labour, collective farms and to the family. Greater attention is also to be paid to physical culture, and for girls there will be instruction in domestic subjects.
TI. 9th August 1958

A new institute for higher education has been opened in northern Kazakhstan - the Akmolinsk Agricultural Institute. There will be three faculties: agriculture, mechanization and soil exploitation. The enrolment of students is proceeding rapidly, especially for the faculty of mechanization. Besides providing theoretical instruction in the different branches of these subjects, the institute possesses modern equipment for practical work. Residential facilities are also provided. KP. 19th July 1958

Exhibitions

The Institute of Oriental Studies of the Uzbek Academy of Sciences is collecting material for an exhibition of ancient manuscripts - "monuments of the culture of the East" - which is to take place simultaneously with the Conference of Asian and African Writers at Tashkent. The exhibits, about a hundred in all, are to include rare, if not unique, manuscript editions, some of them illustrated and in ornate bindings, of the works of famous writers from the literatures of Central Asia and neighbouring countries.

Opportunity will also be given to view the work of the Institute itself.
PV. 19th July 1958

A series of exhibitions called "ten days of literature and art" are being held in Moscow by the Central Asian republics.

The Uzbek Academy of Sciences is printing a book entitled UZBEK NATIONAL POEMS for their "ten days". The poems appear for the first time in Russian translations. Two other books are being specially published - SKETCHES OF UZBEK SOVIET LITERATURE, edited by I.A. Sultanov, and UZBEK NATIONAL POETRY.

The Academy's Institute for Theoretical Research in the Study of the Arts has prepared a collection of sketches by M. Akhmedov and K. Alembayeva entitled NATIONAL MUSICIANS OF UZBEKISTAN. Two other albums are to be produced containing information on native "masters" in Uzbekistan. A book on architectural research in the republic is also to be published.

PV. 5th, 8th August 1958

Miscellaneous

The Kzyl-Orda oblast committee for broadcasting has begun broadcasts in the Korean language. Talks are given by experts on the cultivation of rice and maize; mechanization specialists on collective farms and specialists on the railways also give talks so that listeners receive expert advice on these and other subjects of practical interest to their lives.

KP. 18th July 1958

THE BORDERLANDS OF SOVIET CENTRAL ASIA

THE 1917 - 1920 UPRISING IN PERSIAN AZERBAYDZHAN

A synopsis of the first two chapters of the book THE NATIONAL-LIBERATION MOVEMENT IN PERSIAN AZERBAYDZHAN 1917-1920 by Sh.A. Tagiyeva (Baku, 1956), was published in CENTRAL ASIAN REVIEW, Vol.VI, No.3. The following is an abridged version of the last chapter of the same work entitled "The Tabriz Rising of 1920", together with a comparison where possible of other accounts of the same episode.

In the introduction to the first part of this study it was stated that no part of Azerbaydzhan had ever been occupied by British or Indian troops (see CAR, Vol.VI, No.3, p.348). Although this is true in the ordinary sense of the word "occupied", research into Tagiyeva's allegations about the activities of so-called British intelligence officers has disclosed that Captain R.C. Geard (described by Tagiyeva as Major Curt), the British Assistant Political Officer in Tabriz, was in fact accompanied by two platoons of the 67th Punjab Regiment, that is, about 50 men. These appear to be the only "British forces" which entered Azerbaydzhan. Enquiries have also revealed that Major C.J. Edmonds, the well-known author of TURKS, KURDS AND ARABS (Oxford University Press, 1957) was Political Officer with Norperforce (North Persian Force) at the time mentioned and that he visited Tabriz on 26th April 1920 and left on the 5th May. He is therefore without any doubt the officer whom Tagiyeva refers to as "Edmond Micher". On 1st May Major Edmonds had a long and cordial interview with Khiabani at which the subject of the withdrawal of the British detachment was not discussed. Since, however, the detachment was in fact withdrawn a month after the interview, the Russians can be excused for connecting the two incidents.

It is noteworthy that the only authority which Tagiyeva quotes for her repeated statements about the alleged part played by the British in the suppression of the movement is the Soviet Central State Archives.

PART TWO

I. The Tabriz Rising in 1920 - II. The Defeat of the Rising - III. The Character and Outlook of Khiabani - IV. Reasons for the Movement's Failure.

I. The Tabriz Rising in 1920

The third chapter starts with a brief description of the successes of the Red Army in the Caucasus and in Azerbaydzhan and the encouragement which the insurgents of Persia and Persian Azerbaydzhan derived from them. "In expectation of the Red Army's entry into Baku, and inspired by the advance of the Red Army in the North Caucasus, the workers of Persian Azerbaydzhan and the whole of Persia prepared for a rebellion against the British imperialists and the Shah's government." (p.83) On the eve of the 1920 rising a number of demonstrations took place in Tabriz, and in particular in March 1920, when as a result of demonstrations organized by the Democratic Party and supported by a large number of citizens the British were obliged to fulfil the demand that their forces should be withdrawn from the town. These events alarmed the Persian government, and Vosuq-ad-Dowleh, calling the province a "black sore in the state organism of Persia" said that peace in Persia was impossible until calm came to Persian Azerbaydzhan. For this reason the government intensified repressions and nominated as Governor-General of the province Ayn-od-Dowleh - a man renowned for his cruelty - with Amin-ol-Molk as his deputy. Ayn-od-Dowleh, however, having left Tehran at the end of January 1920, decided not to enter Tabriz and remained in Mianeh. On the 13th of February 1920 Swedish officers and units of police under the command of Major Burling (who was appointed head of the police of Azerbaydzhan) arrived in Tabriz. A few days later Tarjoman-od-Dowleh, who had been appointed head of the province's financial affairs, arrived accompanied by police, and a little later Amin-ol-Molk. On the same day the British command dispatched new military units to Persia via Baghdad and Baluchistan and sent British officers to Tabriz to organize regular local military units.

Meanwhile preparations were being made in Persian Azerbaydzhan for a big rebellion. On the 12th of March 1920 a session of the Tabriz committee of the Democratic party was held with the participation of the party cells. Here the report of the Tabriz committee was heard and approved and a new committee of 11 men was elected by secret vote. During this time the police continued to arrest Democrats, and on the 6th of April, roused by the violence of the repressive measures, a meeting of Democrats was held in the offices of the paper TAJADDOD. Notwithstanding the interference of the police, they succeeded in making a number of demands to the deputy Governor-General and in

securing the liberation of friends who had been arrested.

On the 7th of April, after preparations which had lasted for seven months, the Tabriz rising began in earnest. The population of the town united with the armed insurgents and on the first day of the rising the Tabriz bazaar was closed. All the merchants and craftsmen, revealing their support for the "just demands" of the Democrats, joined the rebels: and on the 8th of April certain detachments of military police who were very badly paid and who were discontented with the existing order, went over too.

To lead the rising a "Public Commission" (heyyat-e-ejtemayi) was formed; it was headed by Khiabani and was composed of members of the Democratic Party. Under its leadership the insurgents seized all state institutions - post, telegraph, police etc. - in the space of two days; in this way almost all power in Tabriz was transferred to the hands of the rebels, and the town became the centre of the national-liberation movement of Persian Azerbaydzhan. The "Public Commission" announced to the population that the supporters of the freedom of Tabriz opposed the anti-democratic policy of the state representatives in the province of Azerbaydzhan and protested against the implementation of this policy in Tabriz. In its address to the people the "Public Commission" declared that state officials must submit to the "regime of freedom" in the country, and must without demur respect and carry out the constitution. The main tasks of the rising as set out by the "Public Commission" were as follows:

1. To put an end to the predatory activities of foreign imperialists;

2. To drive state officials out of Persian Azerbaydzhan;

3. To put the constitution, which was won by the people in the 1905-11 revolution, into practice;

4. To fight for peace and democracy against the imperialists and the Persian reactionaries.

The "Public Commission" first of all removed government officials from work in state institutions and expelled them from Tabriz, replacing them with prominent members of the Democratic Party. Among other things, the insurgents demanded of Ayn-od-Dowleh, who was in Mianeh, that government officials - police, Swedish officers etc. - should be recalled from Persian Azerbaydzhan and that Amin-ol-Molk and Tarjoman-od-Dowleh should leave the town. On the 20th of April Ayn-od-Dowleh arrived in Tabriz to persuade the insurgents to submit to the central government, but the talks were unsuccessful. A correspondence was maintained between the rebels and the Baku Communists, who were informed of the course of the rebellion and who sent the Azerbaydzhan revolutionaries appropriate literature. The Youth Organization of the Demo-

cratic Party of Persian Azerbaydzhan, to which the Democratic Party attached considerable importance, played an active part in the rising, and initiated a journal called AZADISTAN (Land of Freedom).

The rising began to embrace an ever wider area. In June 1920 a movement flared up in Zanjan against the British and the Shah, in which the whole population of the town took part. The movement was successful, and power fell into the hands of the Democrats who were led by Mamedali Bashmagchi. In Maragheh and Ahar the Democrats, who maintained links with the Tabriz insurgents, also seized power, and soon after the victory in Tabriz a rising started in Khoy; the town and its surroundings fell into the hands of the insurgents, and the government officials were driven out. Then Ardabil joined the rebellion, and organized a National Democratic committee which carried on widespread activities among the population, and set itself the task of fighting against the British. The situation in Ardabil was very tense, and the British took the necessary measures for the Cossack force of 100 men and another armed unit to be continually prepared for retreat. "The workers of Ardabil, filled with a great hatred of the British and of the Persian reactionaries, attentively followed the struggle of the workers of Transcaucasia." (p.89) Owing to the lack of united leadership, however, the risings which swept over Persian Azerbaydzhan were disorganized and disconnected.

The "Public Commission" brought forward the question of the reorganization of various institutions in Tabriz, and committees for the affairs of financial institutions, education, the formation of an army and its management, and for legal affairs were created. They were composed of active members of the "Public Commission" and the Democratic Party. The removal from office of officials of the Central Government continued; the "Public Commission" entrusted the management of financial affairs to a member of the commission - Nazim-od-Dowleh, and new chiefs of the police, post and telegraph were also appointed.

To quell the movement which had swept over Persia and Persian Azerbaydzhan the British intensified their subversive activities, and in an attempt to raise counter-revolutionary elements in Tabriz and its environs, they sent their most experienced intelligence officers from Qazvin to Tabriz - Major Edmond Micher and Major Curt. In Tabriz the opposition group of Ahmad Qasravi was cooperating with other counter-revolutionary groups to "hinder the carrying out of progressive measures". Sayyed Ahmad Qasravi was a member of the Democratic Party of Azerbaydzhan, but since the beginning of the rising had "betrayed the interests of his people". Through the British Consulate in Tabriz, and also through Karbalay Hosayn Aqa Feshengchi and other agents, the Shah's Government and the British maintained connections with the "Tangediyun" group led by Qasravi; and in a telegram addressed to Hosayn Aqa Feshengchi, the Persian Government declared that if Qasravi would fight

against the rebels the state would give him as much money as he wanted. As a result of the subversive activities of the "Tangediyun" group, the "Public Commission" was obliged to arrest many of its members; but instead of condemning them to a popular trial it merely exiled them from Tabriz. On May the 10th Qasravi fled from Tabriz to Tehran. In the name of the "Public Commission" Khiabani urged Edmond Micher to withdraw the force of Indian Sepoys from Tabriz. The demand was fulfilled, and Micher himself also left the town.

After the defeat of the "Tangediyun" group other counter-revolutionary groups prepared to oppose the supporters of Khiabani. These groups, which consisted chiefly of landowners and people who had been driven out of the "Public Commission", misled the public by calling themselves social democrats. They received help both from the British, and from the German Consulate, which provided them with arms. In its turn, the Government of Vosuq-od-Dowleh sent a detachment of the Cossack division led by the future Shah Reza Khan, to put down the rebellion; but the attempt failed.

On June the 23rd it was decided to form a National Government on the basis of the "Public Commission"; the headquarters of the "Public Commission" were moved from the editorial office of TAJADDOD to the seat of the government before the rising - Ala-Qapi, and Persian Azerbaydzhan was given the name of "Azadistan" or country of freedom. According to the paper KOMMUNIST published in Baku the National Government newly created in Persian Azerbaydzhan was guided in its activities by the principles of government of a democratic republic. It was composed of about 20 men of whom the president was Khiabani, and who were all members of the Democratic Party of Persian Azerbaydzhan and belonged mainly to the merchant bourgeoisie. There were also among them representatives of small landowners, the clergy and the intelligentsia. The new Government brought about a number of democratic measures aimed at improving the living conditions of the population of Tabriz. An end was put to the arbitrary rule and lawlessness which had reigned there before the rising, the price of food came down, and fixed prices for rice, sugar, kerosene and other goods were established. In the interests of the small traders, craftsmen and peasants, measures were taken to improve trade between Tabriz and surrounding villages, and a commission was appointed to work out projects for reforms in agriculture, education, finance, medicine, law etc. This commission first turned its attention to a reform of agriculture and the system of taxation, and according to a new project various heavy taxes and duties imposed by the Shah on the peasants were abolished, and it was proposed to exact only income tax.

In the plan for land reform worked out by the commission, it was proposed to distribute unconditionally among the peasants all khaleseh (state land), which, however, represented only four per cent of land suitable for

cultivation. Most of the privately owned land remained in the hands of the big landowners and clergy; but it was planned to advance loans from the agricultural bank to peasants for a certain period so that they might buy land from the landowners; the commission also envisaged that the peasants would buy up waqf land in the same way. Distribution of the state lands among the peasants however, only took place in certain villages of the Arvanaganzab and Dehargan (Azershahr) regions of the province, and the new reforms failed to settle the agrarian problem satisfactorily. "The correct solution to the agrarian question in an agricultural country like Persia was of enormous importance for only in this way was it possible to draw the peasantry into the revolutionary struggle. In this way it would have been possible to cause the national-liberation movement to develop into a bourgeois-democratic revolution, since it is the agrarian revolution which forms the basis and content of a bourgeois-democratic revolution." (p.97) /It is worth mentioning here that M.S. Ivanov (1) states that nothing was done in the field of agricultural reform, and M.N. Ivanova (2) maintains that the agrarian project worked out by the commission did not touch the interests of the landowners and did not improve the hard position of the peasants. Later she goes so far as to say that the leaders of the movement ". . . carried out no agrarian reforms aimed at improving the position of the peasants" -Ed./ It was also proposed by the National Government to study the question of exploiting the mineral resources of Persian Azerbaydzhan, in connection with which they intended to invite cooperation from Soviet specialists.

The National Government attached great importance to education and compulsory schooling, and various new schools were opened in Tabriz including one for girls in which the daughters of more than a hundred poor families were able to study. Particular importance was also attached to the emancipation of women and their participation in the political and social life of the country. Other changes introduced by the National Government consisted in the formation of an unarmed national guard of 12,000 men, and an armed police force which was trained in a school specially opened for the purpose. This armed police force consisted of 2,000 men and formed the chief military support of the National Government. It was planned to build hospitals and medical points in Tabriz and other regions of the province, although the Government only succeeded in building one hospital in the capital during its short period in power. The commission, created by the National Government, also took measures to improve the economic position of the country; construction of a carpet-weaving factory was begun, and it was planned to build a sugar factory, textile factories and tanneries, to open agricultural and national banks, and bring about a reform of the money system. It was also planned to organize elections to a town anjoman.

The main force behind the revolutionary movement in Persian Azerbay-

dzhan were the poor and the petty bourgeoisie of the towns - craftsmen and small traders. In addition part of the peasantry in the environs of Tabriz participated in the movement, but in general the peasants were not deeply involved. In June 1920 the nomads belonging to the Shahsavan tribes who lived in the north and north-west of Persian Azerbaydzhan joined the rebels. The conclusion of the Anglo-Persian agreement of 1919 had led to the complete cessation of trade relations between Persia and Russia and to the "subjection of Persian trade to the interests of the British imperialists". And since the trade of Persian Azerbaydzhan was directly linked to the Russian market the "national trade bourgeoisie" supported the revolutionary movement, demanding that trade links with Soviet Russia should be re-established. The liberal section of the landowning class and the middle and lower strata of the clergy also took part in the rising, and were represented in the "Public Commission" and the National Government. The reactionary section of the landowning and clerical class, who owned property on a large scale, ranged themselves on the side of the Government in Tehran. The movement was led by the trade bourgeoisie, small landowners and representatives of the lower clergy who did not share the view of their superiors that the participants in the rising were enemies of Islam.

The Democrats fought for the creation of a bourgeois republic in Persia, for the transformation of Persia into a powerful centralized state, and for the autonomy of Persian Azerbaydzhan within the framework of a future democratic Persia. Until this democratic Persia came into being and Persian Azerbaydzhan received autonomy, the national government was to be considered the only government and its measures the only legitimate measures in the province. The leaders of the Tabriz rising aimed at extending it to the whole of Persia, their goal being to create in Persia a democratic government which would "ensure the independence of the country, defend the constitution, carry out reforms without delay, abolish personal privileges, nationalize all businesses and institutions, create a national industry, and ensure justice, equality of rights and freedom so that deputies elected to the majles should be true representatives of the people." (p.102)

Khiabani demanded that all power should be concentrated in the hands of the people and declared: "The will of the people must be above everything. If it so wishes, it must even overthrow and remove the Shah, and if it so wishes, and considers necessary, declare a republic." The democrats, however, fighting for the fulfilment of the principles of the constitution, were already going beyond the framework of the existing constitution; for instead of a limited monarchy they demanded that a bourgeois republic should be created in Persia "which was undoubtedly an important advance".

II. The Defeat of the Rising

The growth of the national-liberation movement in Persia brought about the downfall of the cabinet of Vosuq-od-Dowleh on the 25th of June 1920, and a new cabinet led by Moshir-od-Dowleh came to power. Fearing the anger of the people, this cabinet was obliged to declare the Anglo-Persian agreement of 1919 null and void until it had been ratified by the majles. /M.N. Ivanova puts the issue slightly differently: "In June 1920 a new Government led by the important Persian feudal lord and nationalist Moshir-od-Dowleh came to power in place of the Vosuq-od-Dowleh Government. The new Government was against the British policy of open dictatorship in Persia and strove to renew diplomatic and trade relations with Soviet Russia. One of the first measures of the new Government therefore was the cessation of all operations connected with putting the Anglo-Persian agreement into action before its ratification by the majles." -Ed./ The new Government attempted to suppress the rising in Tabriz by talking with its leader but received the following declaration from Khiabani in the name of the National Government: "Until the state is supported by the will of the people it will achieve no successes, and in our country the state consists of one chief visir, who, having collected five to ten men about him, rules over the people. The masses take no part in the ruling of this state. It is our aim that the people itself should directly appoint the vizir and the rulers. We do not need a new governor. Taking into account the urgent needs of Azerbaydzhan, the state should fulfil the demands of the liberators of Tabriz." Seeing that he would not succeed in influencing the rebels by negotiation, Moshir-od-Dowleh decided to prepare an advance on Tabriz with the help of the British. In addition to this "campaign of slander" was waged against the rebels in the press, in which the publisher of the paper RAAD - Sayyed Ziaoddin Tabatabayi who was a British agent - was particularly zealous.

The intensification of the national-liberation movement in Persian Azerbaydzhan considerably alarmed the Persian Government and the British. "They knew that the existence of Soviet Russia - the only socialist country in the world - was a very great stimulus for the peoples of the East, among them the peoples of Azerbaydzhan, in their struggle against imperialism and local reaction. Therefore in the struggle against the Soviet state the British imperialists desperately enlisted every available means including the religion of Islam." (p.107) In 1920, in the month of Moharram, they sent their agents to Lenkoran and other regions of Soviet Azerbaydzhan in order to use the Muslim religious observances for propaganda purposes. These agents considerably helped the British in organizing "piratical forces" in the frontier regions of the Soviet Union. The British also received direct help from the Shah. In September the British agents called a conference in Ardabil consisting of Persian khans and other "reactionary elements", and took a resolution on the organization of piratical forces in Persia, in particular,

in certain regions of Persian Azerbaydzhan. These forces were to oppose the national-liberation movement and to help the British spy Ramazanov - a "violent enemy of the Soviet Union" - who carried out his activities in the region of Astara. The British received most help from well-to-do landowners and "kulaks" whom they had bribed. With the intention of setting the local feudal lords against the rising, Major Curt travelled over the whole of Persian Azerbaydzhan, and in Ardabil succeeded in drawing various khans over to his side. He also carried his counter-revolutionary activities into Qaradagh, Maragheh and Kurdistan, but was greeted everywhere with opposition. He was killed near Sumerin. To counteract the activities of Major Curt, the National Government of Persian Azerbaydzhan sent a representative and armed forces to Ardabil. The Democrats of Ardabil and also a group of Shahsavan nomadic tribes joined the force sent by the National Government and gained a victory over the feudal lords who in Ardabil and its environs were opposing the rising. Under pressure from the rebels the Governor-General of Tabriz, Ayn-od-Dowleh, was obliged to leave the town.

In an attempt to suppress the national-liberation movement in Persian Azerbaydzhan the Persian Government did its utmost to hinder the dissemination of revolutionary ideas in the country. On the demand of the British, any connections between Persian Azerbaydzhan and the Caucasus were forbidden, and in order to prevent travel between the two countries a guard was stationed along the roads. The clergy also helped in suppressing the national-liberation movement, and spread false rumours about the persecution of religion and the clergy in Soviet Azerbaydzhan.

/The section closes with a brief account of how the British attempted to prevent the first convention of the peoples of the East from meeting in Baku in September 1920.

There follows a short section describing the revolutionary movement in Gilan (see CAR, Vol.IV, No.3, pp.303-13 and Vol.IV, No.4, pp.403-4), and its connection with the rising in Persian Azerbaydzhan: "In order to create a unified front in the struggle against the imperialists, the Shah's Government and the important feudal lords, the Central Committee (of the Communist Party of Persia) decided to renew ties with Kuchek-khan. . . and also to cooperate with the Democrats of Persian Azerbaydzhan. . . With this in view the Central Committee sent representatives to Tabriz, to whom Khiabani promised to maintain links with the Persian Communist Party." (p.111) -Ed./

With the collaboration of the British the Government of Moshir-od-Dowleh made intensive preparations to send armed forces against the insurgents, but after a few initial successes the attack was repulsed and Moshir-od-Dowleh's men were obliged to retreat. At this juncture a new governor,

Mokhber-os-Saltaneh, was dispatched to Tabriz; he arrived in the capital just after the temporary defeat of the revolutionaries. Instead of refusing to allow him into Tabriz, thus affording him no opportunity of joining the counter-revolutionary forces, the National Government limited themselves merely to refusing him entrance to Ala-Gapy. On his arrival Mokhber-os-Saltaneh began fruitless talks with Khiabani which lasted ten days in order to gain time to unite the reactionary forces around him. Meanwhile part of the armed forces of the National Government was sent to the environs of the town to fight the counter-revolutionaries, and only a small force remained in Tabriz itself. Bribed by Mokhber-os-Saltaneh, the leader of this force led his men out of the town without the permission of the National Government under the pretext of the presence of robber bands; and the insurgents were left virtually unarmed. On the 12th of September a sudden attack was made on Tabriz leaving the Democrats no time to unite, with the result that almost every one of them had to defend himself alone in his own house. The majority perished. Khiabani, who had gone into hiding, was sought out, arrested and put to death; and at the command of Mokhber-os-Saltaneh more than 300 families of the insurgents were liquidated, their property seized and their houses destroyed. "The struggle, however, was by no means at an end. Insurgents in Ahar, led by Qiyami, who called themselves 'Qiyamiyun-e-Enteqamiyun' or the 'revenge insurgents', for a long time still carried on a violent struggle against Persian reaction in the impassable mountain regions." (p.114)

III. The Character and Outlook of Khiabani

Tagiyeva attributes many of the weaknesses of the movement and much of the blame for its failure to the personality of Khiabani himself, and she devotes several pages to this subject. "The bourgeois leaders", she says, ". . . in every way stifled class contradictions inside the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal camp, preventing the movement from developing into a bourgeois democratic revolution. The reason for this was the inconsistency of the views of the leaders of the movement." (p.103) Khiabani himself was at the same time an idealist and a dialectical materialist, and in his attempt to steer a middle course he often became confused. From the idealist's point of view he believed in contributing "spirit" and "thought" to the revolution, and considered that the development of society took place by means of the development of and perfection of spirit and thought. "At the same time Khiabani took the point of view of a dialectical materialist; he understood that people's consciousness reflects reality."

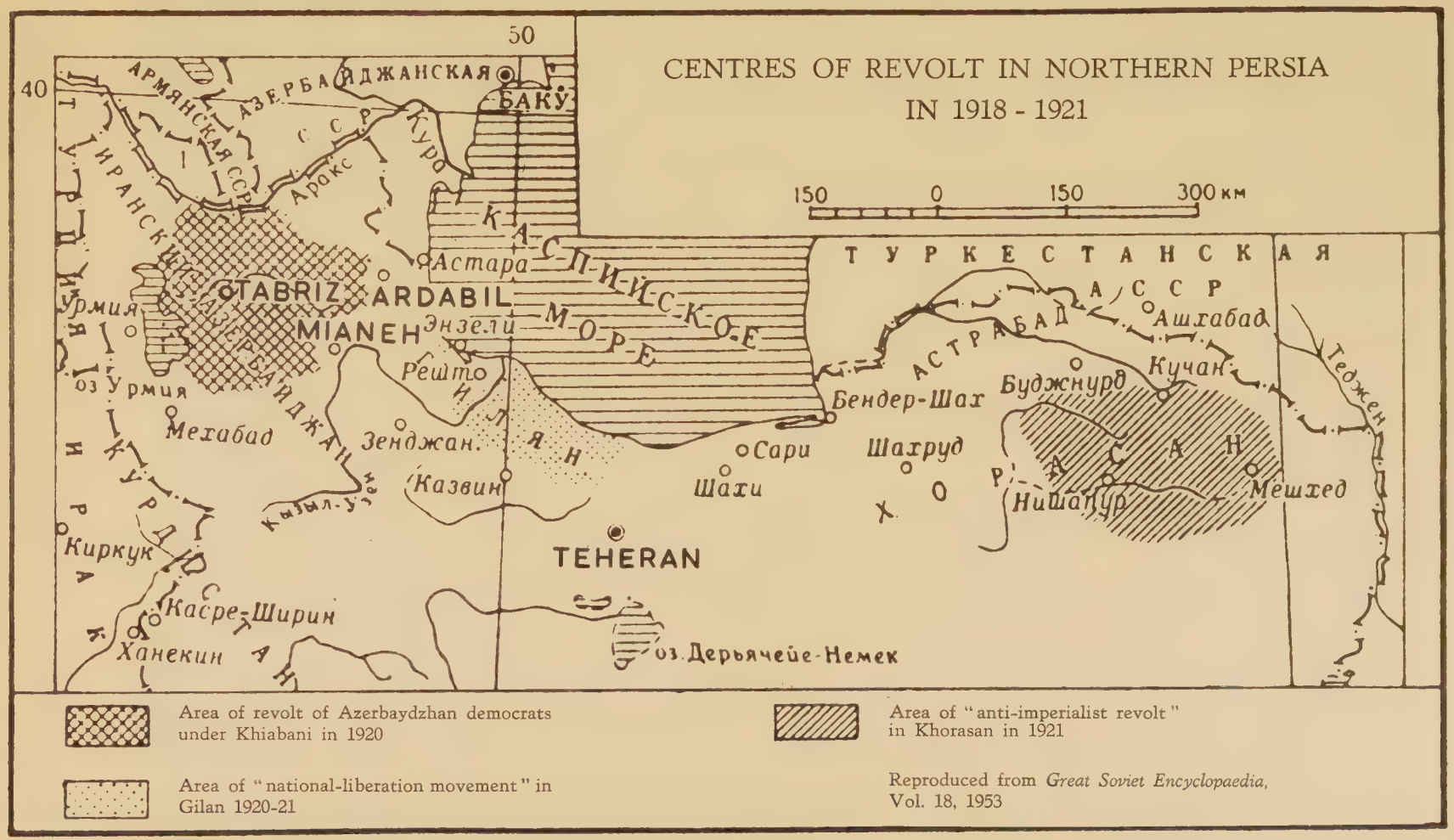
Contradictions in the social and political views of Khiabani were reflected in his appeals to supporters. First he urged participants in the rising to contain themselves in patience and purify their hearts, denying the necessity for an armed conflict. Then he told them: "If you want freedom -

kill the traitors. A guarantee of freedom is impossible without their blood." These contradictions were also reflected in the policy of the National Government. On the 4th and 25th of May, speaking in the name of the "Public Commission", Khiabani told supporters that "the whole population of Persia is solidly behind us" and "ready for the fight". At the same time he said: "We appeal to you now to be patient and steadfast in order to accomplish our ends without great turmoil." And instead of establishing connections with other revolutionary provinces of Persia and forming a united front with them, Khiabani encouraged his supporters to think in terms of a slow, gradual extension of the struggle. "Khiabani, as a representative of the trade bourgeoisie, whose struggle was distinguished by timidity, inconsistency and half-measures, feared a broad popular movement and wrongly evaluated it: 'The affairs of the people are momentary and unconscious. Arising suddenly, like an earthquake, they destroy everything and themselves perish.'" (p.104)

Khiabani's attitude over reforms, which were to be carried out gradually first in Tabriz, then in the rest of Azerbaydzhan, and ultimately over Persia as a whole, was also erroneous and hindered the development of the movement. "We are in no hurry", he said, "and do not want to shock or frighten either our own supporters or others with the speed and rashness of our actions. We want them to accustom themselves to national power gradually and without fear." On the one hand he appealed to the rebels not to become proud and presumptuous from the first successes and warned them of the strength, experience and cunning of the enemy; on the other hand his speeches contain a number of statements such as: "No-one is capable of conquering us either in the field of logic or in battle", and "where is there an army which is capable of attacking us?"

The National Government protected first and foremost the interests of the trade bourgeoisie, and it is evident from Khiabani's speeches that particular attention was paid to their problems. They were guaranteed, for example, immunity for their persons and property and freedom to trade, although at the same time an appeal was made to them not to abuse that freedom by raising prices. And in answer to the question: "What are we striving for in this rebellion?" Khiabani replied: "Picture to yourself the desires of a merchant. See what he needs for his life. After personal immunity he needs a guarantee for his family, a guarantee for his shop, bazaar, quarter, town, and finally for his province." Khiabani is criticized for not paying enough attention to the peasant question; but he was no less indifferent to the position of the workers. "Consequently, when speaking of improving the position of the popular masses, he in fact sought to improve the position mainly of the middle and petty bourgeoisie." (p.106)

/These criticisms of Khiabani are also made by M.S. Ivanov, and M.N. Ivanova who both particularly stress the weaknesses of his policy of


CENTRES OF REVOLT IN NORTHERN PERSIA
IN 1918 - 1921
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АЗЕРБАЙДЖАНСКАЯ
ССР
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АРМЯНСКАЯ ССР
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Аракс
Кура
Астара
КАСПИЙСКОЕ МОРЕ
TABRIZ
ARDABIL
MIANEH
Энзели
Решт
Урмия
оз. Урмия
Мехабад
Зенджан
Казвин
Кызыл-Уза
Киркук
Касре-Ширин
Ханекин
ИРАК
TEHERAN
оз. Дерьячейе-Немек
Сари
Шахи
Бендер-Шах
Шахруд
ТУРКЕСТАНСКАЯ АССР
АСТРАБАД
Ашхабад
Буджнурд
Кучан
Теджен
ХОРАСАН
Нишапур
Мешхед
Area of revolt of Azerbaydzhan democrats under Khiabani in 1920
Area of "national-liberation movement" in Gilan 1920-21
Area of "anti-imperialist revolt" in Khorasan in 1921
Reproduced from *Great Soviet Encyclopaedia*, Vol. 18, 1953

moderation. Khiabani, says Ivanov (3), did not understand the decisive importance of the broad popular masses in this struggle, and even regarded the popular movement with fear and distrust. "Khiabani also underestimated the importance of the use of force in the struggle and entertained harmful illusions that it was possible to gain his ends by peaceful measures alon . . These false ideological lines led him to commit a number of serious mistakes. The supporters of the reaction in Tabriz (the feudal aristocracy and other reactionaries) and even the units of Persian Cossacks were not disarmed. The Khiabanists did not carry on a decisive fight against the reactionaries, who were thus able freely to conduct their counter-revolutionary work in the town, to establish links with counter-revolutionary forces outside Tabriz, and with the headquarters of the Shah's forces. Underestimating the role of the popular masses Khiabani and his supporters took no measures to arm the people, although the world war stores of arms and ammunition remained in Tabriz. Only small, voluntary armed units were organized. Nor were any serious measures taken to fortify Tabriz. . . For several months the Shah's Government took no decisive measures against the rebels of Tabriz, but Khiabani did not turn this inactivity of the reactionaries to advantage. He kept to passive, defensive tactics and refused to take the offensive, although the soil in other regions of Persia would have been sufficiently favourable for it." In addition to Ivanov's criticism of Khiabani, M.N. Ivanova (4) says: "The Government took no measures in connection with the subversive activities of foreign consuls in Tabriz, British and German, who provided the local reactionaries with arms and helped them to form counter-revolutionary bands to fight the insurgents."

There is only one point on which Tagiyev radically differs from other sources - i.e. on the subject of Khiabani's relations with the Soviet Union. According to Ivanov (5): "He (Khiabani) regarded Soviet Russia with distrust and strove to shut himself off from Soviet Transcaucasia, unwilling to realize that the policy of Soviet Russia towards Persia was radically different from the policy of Tsarist Russia." He does not even mention the point that Tagiyev labours so hard to make - namely that the movement in Persian Azerbaydzhan was greatly influenced and stimulated by the successes of the Red Army in the Caucasus. George Lenczowski (6) speaking of the movement says: "To Soviet Russia these developments were of great interest and importance, especially since Soviet troops simultaneously landed at Enzeli and joined hands with Kuchik Khan. There was a strong temptation to establish contact with the Tabriz separatists and, by one bold stroke, secure Iran's Caspian provinces for the Soviet Republic. Consequently the Bolshevik forces operating in Gilan turned towards the town of Zanjan, ready to invade Iranian Azerbaydzhan. At that moment, however, to the

disappointment of the Soviet leaders, the Azerbaydzhan separatists did not prove cooperative. The National Democrats in Tabriz instead of joining hands with the Bolsheviks, declared that they disapproved of Soviet landings at Enzeli, and in a sudden upsurge of patriotism, denounced the pact that had been concluded between the Russians and Kuchik Khan." None of this is of course mentioned by Tagiyeva who devotes part of her introduction to refuting M.S. Ivanov's point of view. Ivanov's false affirmation, she says, "can be disproved by texts of the speeches of Khiabani himself. . . who always referred with love to Soviet Russia. In one of his speeches he even stressed that 'our enmity is against the despotism and predatory policy of the Nicholases'. Khiabani was one of the organizers of the joint action of Russian soldiers and Azerbaydzhanis in Tabriz in June 1917. He followed events in Russia with great attention, particularly after the victory of the October Revolution, and warmly responded to the Soviet Government's appeal 'To all working Muslims of Russia and the East'". (p.7) Khiabani, she continues, appealed to the insurgents to study the example of the Russian bolsheviks and welcomed the final victory of Soviet power in Azerbaydzhan. -Ed.]

IV. Reasons for the Movement's Failure

The chief Russian sources are in agreement on the reasons why Khiabani's movement failed, these are listed by Tagiyeva as follows. First, there was almost no industrial proletariat in Persian Azerbaydzhan which could have "successfully united round itself the numerous peasantry and have headed the national-liberation movement". Secondly, the 1920 rising was mainly confined to Tabriz and its environs, and was not connected with the general Persian national-liberation movement. "In spite of the fact that during the Tabriz rising there were a number of protests against imperialism and Persian reaction in many parts of Persia, in particular in Persian Azerbaydzhan, they were for the most part disorganized and disconnected." (p.114) Thirdly, the National Government was unable to resolve the agrarian question by means of revolution and thus draw the broad masses of the peasants into the movement. Fourthly, from the first days of the rising the National Government conducted a passive struggle with the counter-revolution and maintained a policy of defence, disastrous to any rising. The National Government did not organize a people's army to fight internal and external reactionary forces. The units which they created were badly armed; and at the head of the gendarmerie there were unreliable people who went over to the enemy camp when the Government army advanced on the rebels. The National Government did not even disarm the units of the Persian Cossack division which were in the region of Tabriz. Fifthly, as the movement was led by the trade bourgeoisie in whose interests it was to restrict further extension of the national-liberation movement,

nothing was done to encourage the movement to grow into a bourgeois-democratic revolution. Finally, the presence of opposition groups within the Democratic party weakened the strength of the rebels. For apart from members of the Democratic party who were mainly representatives of the middle and petty bourgeoisie and the liberal and progressive classes of landlords and clergy, the National Government of Persian Azerbaydzhan was also composed of representatives of the big merchants and the wealthy bourgeoisie who had only their own interests at heart; this varied social composition resulted in lack of agreement among the members of the National Government. Later, after the defeat of the rising, these "fellow-travellers" took up government posts and abandoned the movement completely. The leaders of the rebellion did not raise objections to the participation of wealthy merchants in the work of the National Government, but demanded the removal of those who refused to take direct part in carrying out the measures prescribed by the Government.

In spite of the ultimate failure of the movement, however, Tagiyeva concludes that the British and the Persian central Government did not "succeed in breaking the freedom-loving spirit of the Azerbaydzhan and other peoples of Persia". After the suppression of the rising, she continues, in spite of the intensification of reaction, the fight of the Azerbaydzhan people for freedom and democracy did not cease and continues to this day. "The rising in Tabriz in 1920 can be considered as the culminating point of the national-liberation movement in Persian Azerbaydzhan 1917-1920. For more than five months in Tabriz and in a number of other regions of Persian Azerbaydzhan power was in the hands of the Democrats. . . In spite of the limited scope of the middle and petty bourgeoisie who had come to power, the creation of a national government was an important victory, and a victory of the popular masses, for without the help of the people the bourgeoisie could not have taken power into its hands." (p.116) The movement, which was directed both against foreign imperialism and Persian reaction, she maintains, was also an anti-feudal movement against despotism and feudal disunion.

While M.S. Ivanov limits himself to labelling the Azerbaydzhan rising as an "outstanding national-democratic movement" Tagiyeva is more generous in her summing up: "The national-liberation movement of 1917-1920 in Persian Azerbaydzhan in general must be appreciated as a progressive movement since it was directed against imperialism. It struck a blow against world imperialism, and consequently a blow to the advantage of the world revolutionary movement."

Notes

(1) OCHERK ISTORII IRANA, M.S. Ivanov, Moscow, 1952, p.277. Referred to below as Ivanov.

(2) "The National-Liberation Movement in Persian Azerbaydzhan 1918-1920". M.N. Ivanova, KRATKIYE SOOBSHCHENIYA INSTITUTA VOSTOKOVEDENIYA, No.XIV, Moscow, 1955, p.10. Referred to below as Ivanova.

(3) Ivanov, p.277.

(4) Ivanova, p.11.

(5) Ivanov, p.277.

(6) RUSSIA AND THE WEST IN IRAN. George Lenczowski, New York, 1949, pp.61-62.

THE BORDERLANDS OF SOVIET CENTRAL ASIA

RUSSIA'S RELATIONS WITH INDIA

(1900 - 1917)

The following slightly abridged translation of an article from VOPROSY ISTORII+ is noteworthy for two different reasons. In the first place it contains the fruits of some painstaking and original research on Russia's early relations with India. Secondly, it is a good example of how a valuable piece of historical research can be partly spoilt by fitting it into a propaganda setting. Fortunately, however, the propaganda element is confined to the introduction and a few passages, which bear signs of having been added by another hand.

It is of course perfectly true that in the 1830's and again in the second half of the nineteenth century the Russian threat to India was greatly exaggerated both in Britain and in India. Although Russia's rapid advance into Central Asia seemed at the time to offer ample justification for British apprehension, it has for many years been recognized by responsible British historians that as far as India was concerned Russia's real motives were political rather than military. The Imperial Russian Government argued that since Britain could attack Russia through continental alliances, as had happened in the Crimean war, Russia should secure in Turkestan "a military position strong enough to keep England in check by the threat of intervention in India". This is known from undeniable Russian authority - Baron Meyendorff, CORRESPONDANCE DIPLOMATIQUE DU BARON DE STAAL, Vol.I, pp.18, 26 - and is quoted in the CAMBRIDGE HISTORY OF INDIA to which Mr. Solov'yev does not refer. In his Note One he quotes a number of sources apparently to support his contention that British fears of Russian designs on India were not only current during the nineteenth century but that they have never abated since. Reference to the only four of these sources which could be located, namely.

+ O.F. Solov'yev. K voprosu ob otnoshenii tsarskoy Rossii k Indii v XIX - nachale XX veka. (The Relation of Tsarist Russia Towards India in the Nineteenth and Beginning of the twentieth Centuries) VOPROSY ISTORII, 1958, No.6, pp.96-109.

THE CAMBRIDGE HISTORY OF BRITISH FOREIGN POLICY by Ward and Gooch, THE BRITISH IMPACT ON INDIA by P. Griffiths, THE UNITED STATES OF INDIA AND PAKISTAN by W.N. Brown, and A HISTORY OF ENGLAND by C. Carrington and G. Jackson, shows that they barely treat of the subject at all and then only in the same sense as the CAMBRIDGE HISTORY OF INDIA. The selection of sources is a curious one, including as it does Carrington and Jackson's History which is a school text book first printed nearly 30 years ago.

A particularly significant feature of the article is the description of Russia's attempts in the first half of the nineteenth century to enter into direct trade relations with Kashmir and the Punjab, parts of India which were not under British rule. It is interesting to compare this description with the violent Soviet condemnation of British attempts made at almost exactly the same time to enter into trade relations with the states of Khiva and Bukhara (see article entitled "British Policy in Central Asia in the Early Nineteenth Century: The Mission of Richmond Shakespear", in this issue).

Among the false theories in the arsenal of bourgeois propaganda the imaginary theory of Tsarist Russia's supposed attempt at conquering India has been very widespread. The works of British and American authors (1) which develop this idea are distinguished first and foremost by one-sidedness and tendentiousness in their interpretation of events. A distinctive feature of such bourgeois histories is the weakness of the sources on which they are based. For example Russian archives are not used at all and the works of Russian and Soviet research workers, who do not agree with the fantasies of the bourgeois authors, are ignored. In reviewing the Central Asian policy of Tsarism, Russian and Soviet historians have several times dwelt on this or that aspect of the problem.(2) There still does not exist, however, any particular work giving an analysis of this problem based squarely on archive material. In the present article an attempt is made to throw light on the position of the Tsarist autocracy, which reflected the interests of the landlords and bourgeoisie, in relation to India. In addition the author considers it necessary, if only on the most general lines, to explain the relations between the Russian and Indian peoples.(3)

Russo-Indian relations take their origins from the earliest times and were consistently friendly.(4) While Russian ruling circles regarded India first of all as a British colony, to the popular masses and their best

representatives she was a great country with an ancient and highly developed culture worthy of the deepest respect. The Russian people warmly sympathized with the friendly Indian people and desired their rapid liberation from colonial slavery. The great Russian thinker N.I. Novikov, the thinker and revolutionary A.N. Radishchev, the revolutionary democrats V.G. Belinskiy and A.I. Herzen, showed very great interest in the history, literature and art of India. The advanced part of Russian society and the revolutionary democrats N.G. Chernyshevskiy and N.A. Dobrolyubov welcomed the heroic national rising of the Indian people in 1857-1859 and condemned the British colonizers in India.

The Russian working class and its vanguard - the Communist Party - led by Lenin - gave moral support to the national-liberation struggle of the Indian people, which gained considerable scope under the influence of the first Russian revolution 1905-1907.

The subject of the article, which covers quite a considerable stretch of time, has impelled the author to consider only the most important questions which make up the essence of the problem; as a result the present article does not pretend to give an exhaustive analysis of the subject. A specific feature of Russo-Indian relations is the fact that as India in the middle of the nineteenth century had been fully transformed into a British colony, Russia was obliged to conduct relations with her through the British. For this reason Russian relations with India were influenced by the development of the Anglo-Russian conflict of interests in Central Asia (Tsentral'noy Azii). Attention is also paid to this question in the article. Hitherto unknown or little known Russian archive documentation has served as a main source of this article. First and foremost material has been used from the Archives of Russia's foreign policy. (Arkhiv vneshney politiki Rossii - AVPR) and the Central State Historical Archives in Leningrad (Tsentral'nyy gosudarstvennyy istoricheskiy arkhiv v Leningrade - TsGIAL) and also monographs and the press. Unfortunately Indian archives could not be used owing to their inaccessibility to the author.

Early attempts to establish trade routes

At the end of the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth centuries, when France was in a state of total war with England, Napoleon elaborated a plan for the conquest of India, a considerable part of which constituted one of the richest of Britain's colonies;(6) and for the fulfilment of this he attempted to gain the support of the Russian Tsar, Paul I. On the orders of the Tsar, in January 1801 a small force was formed under the command of the hetman of the Don Cossacks, Orlov-Denisov, who was given the task of reaching the frontiers of India. The force was badly armed and its leaders had an ex-

tremely confused idea not only of India itself but also of the country's roads.(7) In the circumstances the adventure was obviously doomed to failure. Shortly after, Paul I was assassinated, and Alexander I, who then came to the throne, countermanded the order to the Russian force.

On the 31st of March 1802 the Neglasnyy committee, which consisted of close friends of Alexander I, reviewed at one of its sessions a note from the eminent military expert V.A. Zubov, entitled "A general review of trade with Asia". The note stressed the importance for Russia of establishing trade relations with Asia in general and with India in particular. The author of the note believed that the most convenient route for the development of Russo-Indian trade would be the route across the Caspian Sea and Persia. The note produced an impression on members of the committee (8) which resulted in a series of government measures.

I.F. Kruzernshtern, who led the first Russian expedition round the world in 1803, was given by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs the task of visiting the ports of India. At the same time a large Russian caravan was sent to Bukhara under the command of Lieutenant Gaverdovskiy, and accompanied by a guard. The mission of the Counsellor of State, Prince Vizapur, to India also took place at this time. In the middle of 1803 Vizapur handed Alexander I a note together with a plan for trade with India across the Caspian Sea. A curious feature of the plan was that Vizapur suggested using representatives of the Indian colony living in Astrakhan to carry it out. He petitioned the Tsar to afford him the means to make a journey into Afghanistan and India in order to put his plan into action. The proposal was approved of by the Government and Vizapur set out for Astrakhan where he hired three servants to accompany him on his further travels. Unfortunately we have at present no information on the outcome of Vizapur's mission. The two other similar measures of the Russian Government were unsuccessful: Kruzenshtern did not have the opportunity of visiting Indian ports, and the Russian trade caravan was robbed by nomads before it reached Bukhara.

During the period of the Napoleonic wars and particularly the continental blockade, Russian foreign trade, which was mainly directed towards European countries, experienced considerable difficulties, and the enemy often seized Russian ships in the Baltic Sea and confiscated the merchandise. Cases of bankruptcy among trading firms became more common, and the merchants more than once petitioned the Government to find a way out of the situation. Owing to these circumstances new trade routes had to be found and in particular greater attention had to be paid to the extension of Russia's traditional trade relations, not only with neighbouring Asiatic countries, but also with far distant ones such as Afghanistan, India and China.

As experience had shown the practical difficulty of establishing relations

with India through Central Asia, it was decided to study the routes to India from Siberia. In 1808 a merchant from Kabul, Mekhti Rafailov, an inhabitant of Tiflis, Zakhar Shargilov, and an Armenian, Egor Artemov, set off from Semipalatinsk for the Chinese border on the instructions of the Minister of Foreign Affairs Rumyantsev. Travelling via Aksu, Kuldja, Kashgar and the Tibetan possessions of China they reached Kashmir, which was independent at that period. There Rafailov laid in a stock of shawls and returned to Semipalatinsk whence he brought his goods to Petersburg. In the words of Rafailov it was possible in Kashmir to obtain very profitably "good shawls, silk materials, muslin, pearls, various stones and white Indian sugar, and even many of those products which we obtained via England". This and other journeys of Rafailov, and also of the Georgian nobleman Madatov over the same itinerary, opened up a new route to the Russian merchants who, in the words of the head of the Siberian line (sic), Glazenap, were already in 1814 sending "caravans with the richest merchandise to India, the vast expanses of Tibet and other contiguous countries renowned in Asia for their production of hand-made articles and for the trade of their towns". Besides this, merchandise from India was conveyed into Russia by the Central Asian merchants via Orenburg; but the value of these imports was not large, and in 1815-17 consisted of three to four thousand rubles a year. This type of irregular trade naturally did not satisfy the Russian Government which began to regularize it legally by the conclusion of trade agreements with proper contractors. The ruling circles of Russia decided also to establish normal relations with the Indian principalities, the strongest of which was the Sikh state in the Punjab; at that time these principalities were still independent of the British.

Taking advantage of one of Mekhti Rafailov's (9) periodic trade expeditions, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs provided him with a letter dated the 17th of January 1820 for the ruler of the Punjab, Rajah Ranjit Singh. In this letter the Russian Government expressed the desire to enter into "friendly relations with the Rajah. . . so that merchants subject to Russia as well as your own should have free access to both countries". In the same year a large Russian embassy headed by the representative of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Negri, was sent to Bukhara with the aim of obtaining a safe passage for Russian caravans across the territory of Bukhara, ransoming the Russian prisoners, finding out about the position of Afghanistan and northern India, and also of studying in detail the question of trade routes to India. With the embassy went Doctor Eversman who was to visit the countries surrounding Bukhara in order to collect information "relating to trade caravan routes leading from the shores of the Caspian Sea to India and countries contiguous to her."

However, owing to unfavourable circumstances the missions of Rafailov and Eversman bore no fruit. Rafailov fell ill during the journey and died on the

way to Kashmir, while Eversman was unable to travel further than Bukhara.

On the basis of these facts it may be concluded that in the first quarter of the nineteenth century, the Russian Government, acting in the interests of the trade bourgeoisie, managed to establish economic ties via Central Asia and Siberia with those parts of India which had not yet been conquered by Britain, i.e. Kashmir and the Punjab. Yet Russia was not pursuing any political ends in these far off regions but confined her ambitions to establishing friendly relations. The chief reasons for her lack of success in her attempts to form trade links with India stem from the remoteness of Kashmir and the Punjab and the absence of convenient and safe lines of communication.

In the thirties and forties of the nineteenth century the British colonizers attempted to subject Afghanistan and to gain dominance over the whole of India. They did not, however, succeed in seizing Afghanistan, and the first Anglo-Afghan war of 1838-42 ended with the defeat of the conquerors. Their activities in India were more successful. In 1843 Sind was annexed, and in 1849 the Punjab. Kashmir was joined to the semi-dependent principality of Jammu. The whole of India was now in the hands of the British who began to mature new colonial plans. It was at this time that Marx wrote about the advance of British trade "into inner Asia simultaneously from two sides: from the Indus and from the Black Sea.(10) British goods in large quantities began to be imported into the Central Asian khanates thus endangering Russian trade. As a counter measure in 1839 the Tsarist Government sent an expedition led by General Perovskiy to Khiva whose aim consisted in "establishing and consolidating the influence of Russia in Central Asia which has been weakened. . . by the persistence with which the British Government, to the detriment of our industry and trade, strives to extend its dominion in those regions".(11)

In connection with this the conflict of interests of Russia and Britain in Central Asia was considerably exacerbated.(12) During the period of Perovskiy's expedition, which ended in failure, the British press conducted violent anti-Russian propaganda accusing Russia of intending to attack India. At the same time the British Ambassador in Petersburg, Clanricarde, began to inquire from the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs about the purpose of the Khiva expedition. The Ministry then instructed the Russian Ambassador in London, Brunnov, to inform the British Cabinet that Russia had "not the smallest desire to extend her political influence to Upper Asia in order to oppose the influence of Britain". Shortly after, the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs in a despatch to Brunnov of the 24th February 1840 again stressed Russia's desire not to damage Britain's interests in Asia, and expressed the wish that Britain in her turn would make a statement that her armies would not go beyond the Hindukush "a barrier which nature herself has

erected, evidently in order to forestall a clash in which we are both equally concerned".

As these reassuring statements produced no effect on the British Government, Brunnov, in a despatch of the 20th June 1840, was instructed to begin talks with the purpose of concluding an agreement on the recognition of the Hindukush as the frontier between the spheres of influence of the two states. In this despatch from the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Russia, Nessel'rode, it was declared: ". . . We not only do not entertain at this moment any intentions hostile to British dominion in India, but are even ready to denounce them for the future." Although British diplomacy had to agree to the talks suggested by Russia, it subsequently hastened to lead them into an impasse.

These facts prove that the Tsarist Government at that time regarded the Hindukush range as its natural frontier and had no intention of violating it, or, even less, of advancing into India.(13) The proposal to conclude a formal agreement speaks for the sincerity of the attitude adopted by the Russian Government. Britain, however, rejected this proposal since it would have hindered her own expansion in Central Asia, and the British Government's assertions about the Russian threat to British possessions in India, which still continued, were merely a mask for British expansion.

During the rule of Nicholas I and Alexander II numerous attempts continued to be made to establish broad commercial ties with India; but of plans of conquest there was not even talk. So, for example, the instructions given to A.S. Griboyedov on his appointment as envoy to Persia in 1829, spoke of the necessity to find means of "fulfilling the long-standing plan of our Government to set up a trading storage point in Astrabad, a plan which promises considerable profit to us by turning Indian trade to the shores of the Caspian Sea".(14) Reporting to the Tsar in 1835 on the forthcoming arrival in Russia of envoys from Afghanistan and India, Nessel'rode declared: "However remote from us the aforesaid countries, and however limited our information about them, it is still unquestionable that any extension of trade ties would be advantageous."

During the next few years the Government of Russia took no active steps to develop trade with India, although it continued to remain her supporter: but when, after its annexation to Russia in 1866, an envoy from Kashmir was sent to Tashkent, which had maintained trade relations with India, in order to come to an agreement about protection for Kashmir merchants, the petition was favourably received. The Minister of Foreign Affairs, Gorchakov, wrote in his report that he recognized the advantage of "offering the Kashmir merchants those rights of trade with Russia which in general the Central Asian peoples enjoy, on condition, however, that our subjects too

should enjoy equal rights in Kashmir."

The opening of the Suez canal in 1869 considerably shortened the sea route from Europe to India, and this prompted trading and industrial circles in Russia to organize a trial voyage to Bombay of the Russian ship "Nakhimov". The success of the voyage enabled direct contact between Russian and Indian merchants to be established.(15) However, there still lay many difficulties in the path of Russo-Indian trade of which the chief was the absence of Russian consulates in India. The Russian Ambassador to Britain, Brunnov, in a note addressed to the Director of the Asiatic Department of the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Stremoukhov, and dated the 31st of March 1870, expressed himself in favour of establishing a Russian consulate in one of the ports of India. Brunnov's proposals met with approval from the Russian Government and provided a stimulus to talks with Britain on this question. The talks ended in 1876 with an agreement on the opening of a Russian consulate in Bombay. However, the renewed intensification of Anglo-Russian rivalry in Asia which ensued shortly after held up the opening of the consulate.

Frontier conflicts with Britain

Taking advantage of the weakening of Russia after the Crimean war, Britain began to violate the agreements of 1872-73 on the division of the spheres of influence in Central Asia.(16) This was particularly noticeable after the Russo-Turkish war of 1877-78.(17) In 1885 a number of measures were taken to fortify the Russian frontiers in Central Asia and the British again began to accuse Russia of striving to seize India and Afghanistan. In these circumstances Russian diplomacy adopted a conciliatory attitude which was approved by the highest Tsarist dignitaries at special conferences on the 25th of October and the 3rd of December 1885. The Russian Ambassador in London, Staal', on the basis of a despatch of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs dated the 15th of March 1885 again repeated to the British Government that the Russian Cabinet "has no hostile plan with relation to any part of Afghanistan and is ready to respect the agreements concluded between Britain and Russia in 1873 in connection with this country; it simply wants to amplify and consolidate them by establishing a good frontier between the corresponding spheres of influence of the two empires". Similar ideas were also developed in a memorandum of the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs dated the 18th of March 1885 to the British Ambassador in Petersburg. As a result of the talks which began between Russia and Britain the conflict already mentioned was settled and a firm Russo-Afghan frontier established.

Russia continued in her desire to give Britain no cause for accusing her of a predatory policy with relation to India. During the period of

Anglo-Russian talks on the delimitation of the Pamir frontier Staal' was sent a despatch from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs dated the 23rd of January 1892 which ran as follows: "Dealing always extremely cautiously with everything relating to India on the further side of the Hindukush, the Imperial Government has the right to count on the full reciprocity of Britain with regard to our interests on this side of this natural boundary of the Anglo-Indian dominions." As a result both sides signed an agreement in 1895 on the delimitation in the Pamir region.

The author goes on to describe certain attempts made after the Indian Mutiny of 1857 by various Indian princes to make contact with the Russian Government "in the hope of receiving help in their fight against the British".(18) All these overtures were rejected, Alexander III observing that the princes should be thanked but at the same time told "that Russia is not thinking of conquering India".(19) In further support of his theory of the sympathy of Indians for Russia the author quotes the observations of a certain Vygornitskiy who visited India in 1897.

While Russia had no intention of seizing India, Britain was conducting an expansionist policy in the approaches to Central Asia. Numerous agents were sent to Khiva and Bukhara who spread there undisguised anti-Russian propaganda.(20) In 1879 Britain established control over the foreign policy of Afghanistan. She then seized Chitral, Baluchistan, the Suleyman mountains, the Khyber pass and other territories populated by independent tribes. A retired colonel of the Bangal staff of the British Indian Army, H.B. Hanna, remarked in his book: "An inevitable result of the policy which we have followed for the last twelve years on the north-western and northern frontiers of India is the advance towards the Oxus (Amu-Dar'ya)."(21)

Establishment of first Russian consulate in India

A certain lessening of the conflict of Anglo-Russian interests in Asia, which followed the Afghan and Pamir delimitation, allowed the Russian bourgeoisie to set about establishing trade connections with India. Russia imported by sea rice, spices, coffee and tea and exported mainly kerosene. Proof of Russia's desire to develop trade with India is to be found in the Anglo-Russian trade talks of 1895 undertaken on the initiative of the Minister of Finances, Witte, who put forward the plan of increasing the export of Russian kerosene to India in exchange for expanding the import of Indian rice into Russia. In Witte's opinion the application of such a measure "would give East Indian rice access to our markets and in this way would probably bring profits to Indian trade equal to those which could be obtained by us in India given more advantageous conditions for the import of our kerosene into that country". The British Government, however, reacted

unfavourably to Witte's proposal, which can be explained by the colonial moncpoly of the British in India. As a result the development of Russo-Indian economic ties was hindered, and at the end of the nineteenth century trade exchanges between the two countries were insignificant.

The gradual development of trade with India, the necessity of studying the country and also the necessity of providing lawful protection for Russian subjects who came to India on commercial business, prompted the Russian Government to open a consulate, to which it had a right on the basis of Article XV of the Anglo-Russian Trade Agreement of 1858 and the Agreement of 1876 mentioned above. On the 17th of December 1898 the Russian Ambassador to Britain, Staal', was instructed to put the question of the establishment of a Russian consulate in Bombay before the British Government. After a number of delays the British Government declared its readiness to recognize Klemm as Russian Consul in Bombay, and on the 22nd of November 1900 a Russian Consulate was opened there. The instructions of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the 30th of August 1900 to the first Russian Consul in India ran as follows: "The town of Bombay was chosen for the Consulate because it is the largest trading centre of Indostan (sic), because the opening of a Consulate there corresponds best to our commercial interests and to the demands which we put before the British Government in India during the talks on the establishment of our consular representation in India, and because this town, by virtue of its trading and industrial importance, conducts uninterrupted relations with all the main centres of the country. Further the instructions stressed the necessity for the Consul "as far as possible to promote the development of Russian trade with India." Similar ideas were developed too in supplementary instructions concerning purely economic questions. In particular these instructions directed Klemm to ascertain to what extent India needed imported grain and what the competition in Indian markets was like for Russian goods. The concluding part of the instructions ran as follows: "Having therefore examined those measures which in your opinion it would be desirable to take in the interests of the further development of our trade relations with India, you will not fail to communicate your opinion as to what Russian goods could find a market in India, if, on the conclusion of a new treaty, favourable conditions for this were exacted." The Russian Consul was instructed to inform the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Russia about the general situation in the country including the dissemination of panislamic propaganda.

In 1905 the Russian Consulate in Bombay was transformed into a Consulate-General and in 1910 it was transferred to Calcutta, the residence of the "Central British Government in India" - with the aim of "establishing direct relations" with this Government. Consent to the establishment of a Russian consulate in Bombay testifies to the British desire to diminish Anglo-Russian differences. Further events clearly showed that this desire was intensified as the Anglo-German conflict of interests became more acute. For its part,

the Russian Government, which was clearly alarmed by Germany's schemes in the Near East, was not averse to meeting Britain halfway. This is confirmed by the instructions of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to Benckendorf on his appointment as Ambassador to London and the following instructions and despatches from the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Lamzdorf, to Benckendorf. On the 31st of March 1905 Lamzdorf wrote: ". . . I consider it my duty to reiterate that Russia dreams least of all of any territorial compensations at the expense of Great Britain's possessions in Asia and that she has no reasons for entering into conflict with Britain. . . but wants to disperse the existing misunderstandings and to consolidate the friendly relations which are so desirable in the interests of both states." The Russian Government was prompted to take this path also by the fact that the country was in the throes of a bourgeois democratic revolution.

Difficulties of expanding trade with India

On the 31st of August 1907 the Anglo-Russian agreement on the division of the spheres of influence in Asia was concluded, about which Lenin wrote: "They are dividing Persia, Afghanistan and Tibet (and are preparing for a war with Germany)."(22) The agreement could not reconcile Anglo-Russian differences in Asia however, but merely moved them into the background. At the same time normalization of relations with Britain promoted the expansion of Russian-Indian trade. After 1907 the character of this trade changed a little and Russia became one of the chief buyers of high-quality Indian tea; this was helped to a considerable extent by the fact that in 1908 Dobroflot and the Russian East-Asian steamship line established a regular route between Calcutta and Vladivostok and the customs duty on tea imported into Russia via Vladivostok was reduced. In 1899 Russia imported from India in all 467,000 pounds of tea; by 1912 she was already importing more than 33m. pounds and, after Britain, was the second largest buyer.(23) Changes also took place as regards the import of Russian goods into India for the import of Russian kerosene was drastically cut (24) while that of Russian textiles and china, which were in great demand in India, increased. According to a report of the manager of the Consulate-General in Bombay, Chirkin, dated the 7th of August 1907: "Russian paper manufactures have for several years been familiar on the Quetta markets, whither they came via Seistan. The material known locally as "mahut-shikan" - moleskin is particularly to the taste of the inhabitants of British Baluchistan."

Owing to the opposition of the British, the unfamiliarity of merchants of both countries with conditions in the local markets, the difficulty of money transactions and so forth, Russian-Indian trade at the beginning of the twentieth century was not highly developed, as testimony of which are the following tables:

Russian exports to India (25)
(in thousands of rubles)

Years	Value of exports
1910/11	1,655
1911/12	720
1912/13	3,250
1913/14	345

Russian imports from India (26)
(in thousands of rubles)

Years	Value of imports
1903	9,615
1910	21,937
1911	28,789
1912	29,847
1913	34,500

From these tables it is evident that Russian imports from India considerably exceeded her exports there, owing to which the balance of trade with India for Russia was passive. At the same time it is impossible to ignore the general tendency towards a growth in Russian imports from India brought about by the desire in trading and industrial circles of the two countries for a development of trade between themselves. As Chirkin reported on the 16th of February 1909, it was not British firms in India which showed interest in an expansion of trade with Russia but almost without exception merchants and business agents of the local population, which represented small firms.

During the First World War Indian foreign trade suffered considerably since it lost one of the chief buyers of colonial goods - Germany. Apart from this, hostility between the British and German navies to a great extent hindered the delivery of Indian goods to European countries. From this stemmed the growing interest of India's trading and industrial circles in the expansion of economic ties with Russia via Vladivostok, and the increase of Indian exports, mainly tea, to Russia. In the financial year 1913-14, according to British figures, £1,636,000 worth of goods were sent from India to Russia, in 1915-16 this figure rose to £3,623,000.

At the end of 1916 the Madras Chamber of Commerce sent a special commission to Russia consisting of Chadwick and Black to study the possibilities of developing Russian-Indian trade. This commission, which spent about three months in Russia, established contact with many Russian firms and outlined some practical steps for further commercial expansion. In an extensive report, which the commission published after completing its work, it was stressed that "Russo-Indian trade has considerable prospects."(27)

Russian consular representatives in Bombay and Calcutta in 1907-13 also wrote constantly of the serious importance for Russia of trade with India. At the end of 1915 a member of the State Council, Denisov, visited Calcutta "in order to familiarize himself with the nature of Indian trade and the possibility of expanding Russian exports to India". Testimony of the great

interest in India is also to be found in the attitude of the Russian bourgeoisie to the old plan of constructing a railway between Russia and India (28), for which the agreement of 1907 had created a favourable basis. It is not fortuitous that soon after the influential bourgeois paper NOVOYE VREMYA expressed itself in favour of the construction of a railway between Russia and India via Persia. The article in NOVOYE VREMYA attracted considerable international response, and particularly in India. Chirkin wrote on the 21st of January 1908 that the plan for uniting the Russian and Indian railways "has riveted the attention of the local press here". The Russian project was on the whole also favourably received by the ruling circles of the countries of the Entente.

The trans-Persian railway project

The article proceeds to describe in some detail the negotiations between the Russian and British Governments for the construction of a railway linking the Russian and Indian systems with the object of neutralizing the importance of the projected (and German sponsored) Baghdad railway. The account is largely factual except that the author insists that the British Government "very clearly showed that it wanted not a trans-Persian railway but only a route into southern Persia with which to bring about the final economic enslavement of the country".

. . .

As has been shown above the attitude of Tsarism towards India for a period of more than a century was distinguished by a certain degree of constancy. Two features characterized this attitude. Russia did not aim at advancing into India but wanted merely to establish mutually advantageous economic ties with her. In the first half of the nineteenth century the Russian Government attempted to enter into direct relations with those parts of India which were not yet under Britain's power (Kashmir and the Punjab). After the conquest of India by the British, Russia maintained links with this country through the British authorities.

Such a policy on the part of autocracy in relation to India can be explained by a combination of political and economic motives. After the defeat of Tsarism in the Crimean war its activity in international questions, as we know, decreased. The weakening of Russia occurred particularly swiftly during the period of imperialism when the dependence of Tsarism on French and British capital was growing all the time. In these circumstances, and also in the absence of a strong ally, Persia naturally could not afford

to complicate her relations with Britain. Tsarism also could not help taking into account the fact that a war with Britain would bring about a sharp intensification of the national-liberation struggle of the Indian people which would obviously find a widespread response in Russia, thus increasing the revolutionary crisis there.

Tsarist Russia was predominantly an agrarian country, importing a number of industrial goods from outside. Owners of extremely rich natural resources, a vast territory and capacious internal and external markets, the Russian bourgeoisie and landowners had at that period no political or economic reasons for conducting an aggressive policy on their southern frontiers, the more so in that there existed adequate grounds for the development of trade relations with India.

Notes

In the original article there are a large number of notes referring mainly and in considerable detail to Soviet archives not available in the West. These notes have been omitted from the text but the source material referred to is listed in the Appendix below. The following notes, therefore, refer only to material available outside the Soviet Union, or to comments by the author.

(1) ENGLAND AND RUSSIA IN THE EAST, H. Rawlinson, London, 1875, pp.63, 279; RUSSIAN PROJECTS AGAINST INDIA, E. Sutherland, London, 1885; THE CAMBRIDGE HISTORY OF BRITISH FOREIGN POLICY, Ward and Gooch, Vol.3, 1923, pp.267, 319-20, 329; A HISTORY OF ENGLAND, C. Carrington and G. Jackson, Cambridge, 1949, pp.663, 685; THE GENESIS OF RUSSOPHOBIA IN GREAT BRITAIN, J.H. Gleason, Harvard, U.P., 1950, pp.37, 78, 103, 128, 162; THE BRITISH IMPACT ON INDIA, P. Griffiths, London, 1952, pp.95-96; THE UNITED STATES AND INDIA AND PAKISTAN, W.N. Brown, Harvard U.P., 1953, pp.132, 161.

(2) ISTORIYA ZAVOYEVANIYA SREDNEY AZII, M. Terent'yev, Vol.1, 1906, pp.118, 232, Vol.2, pp.317-22; INDIYA KAK GLAVNYY FAKTOR V SREDNEAZIATSKOM VOPROSE, A. Snesarev, St.P., 1906, pp.28-37; ISTORIYA SSSR, ed. M. Nechkina, Vol.2, Moscow, 1954, pp.744-5; article "Angliyskaya versiya o 'russkoy ugroze' Indii v XIX-XX vv" by E. Steynberg, ISTORICHESKIYE ZAPISKI, Vol.33, 1950; article "Angliyskaya politika v Indii i russko-indiyskiye otnosheniya v 1897-1905 gg" by A. Popov, KRASNYY ARKHIV, Vol.4, 1926, etc.

(3) To a certain extent this question is elaborated in the introductory article by A. Zapadov and E. Prokhorov in the book GLAZAMI DRUZEY: RUSSKIYE OB INDII, Moscow, 1957; and in the popular pamphlet by L. Gamayunov, ZAROZHDENIYE, RAZVITIYE I UKREPLENIYE DRUZHBY MEZHDU SOVETSKIM SOYUZOM I INDIYEY, Moscow, 1956.

(4) See for example "Izvestiye ob otpravleniyakh v Indiyu rossiyskikh poslannikov, gonstov i kupchin s tovarami i o priyezdakh v Rossiyu indiytsev s 1469 po 1751 g.", A. Malinovskiy, TRUDY I LETOPISI OBSHCHESTVA ISTORII I DREVNOSTEY ROSSIYSKIKH, Vol.7, Moscow, 1837; SNOSHENIYA ROSSII SO SREDNEY AZIYEY I INDIYEY V XVI-XVII VV, V. Ulyanitskiy, Moscow, 1889; "Russko-Indiyskiye otnosheniya v XVII v.", N. Gol'dberg, UCHENYYE ZAPISKI TIKHOOKEANSKOGO INSTITUTA, Moscow, Leningrad, 1949; "Iz istorii izucheniya Indii v Rossii", L. Gamayunov, Sbornik OCHERKI PO ISTORII RUSSKOGO VOSTOKOVEDENIYA, No.2, Moscow, 1956.

(5) WORKS, V.I. Lenin, Vol.15, p.160.

(6) During this period the British had seized mainly the coast of India. A few principalities, situated deep in the interior, succeeded in temporarily preserving their independence.

(7) A. Snesarev, op.cit., p.27.

(8) See RUSSKIY BIOGRAFICHESKIY SLOVAR', Vol.7, St.P., 1916, p.521.

(9) Mekhti Rafailov, a native of Kabul, did much to establish Russo-Indian connections, but was afterwards undeservedly forgotten. His services were fully recognized in Russian governmental circles. It is enough to say that by a decree of the Senate of 27th January 1817 he was given the title of Counsellor of Commerce, and later received the rank of nadvornyy sovetnik /a civil rank of the seventh class - Tran./ In his work ISTORIYA IZUCHENIYA VOSTOKA V EVROPE I V ROSSII, Moscow, 1925, p.228, V. Bartol'd mentions Mekhti Rafailov and his journey to India. He writes: "In 1820 in connection with the project to breed Kashmir goats in Siberia the Commercial Counsellor Mekhti Rafailov was sent from Semipalatinsk to Tibet." A little information on Mekhti Rafailov on the basis of archive material is given by P. Shastitko in his note on "The Mission of Mekhti Rafailov to Randzhit Singkh", SOVETSKOYE VOSTOKOVEDENIYE, 1957, No.4, pp.129-30.

(10) WORKS. K. Marx and F. Engels, Vol.9, p.383.

(11) EKONOMICHESKAYA POLITIKA TSARSKOGO PRAVITEL'STVA NA SREDNEM VOSTOKE VO VTOROY CHETVERTI XIX VEKA I RUSSKAYA BURZHUAZIYA. M. Rozhkova, Moscow, 1949, p.222.

(12) As the question of the Central Asian policy of Tsarism in the nineteenth century has been dealt with in Soviet historiography we will not dwell on it specially.

(13) It is true that during the Crimean war certain military men in Russia put forward plans for conducting a military demonstration on the Indian frontier in order to draw British forces away from the main theatre of the war in the Crimea. Such plans, however, were not even considered or taken seriously by the Russian Government. As these projects have been dealt with in detail in E. Steynberg's article "Angliyskaya versiya o 'russkoy ugroze' Indii v XIX-XX vv", ISTORICHESKIYE ZAPISKI, Vol.33, 1950, we will not dwell on them.

(14) M. Rozhkova, op.cit., p.81.

(15) PUTEVYYE VPETCHATLENIYA V ISPANII, EGIPTE, ARAVII I INDII, 1869-1872. St.P., 1873, p.119.

(16) In these agreements reference was made to the absence on Russia's part of pretensions to Afghanistan and to her consent to regard the country as Britain's sphere of influence and not to enter into direct political relations with the Amir of Afghanistan. Britain on her part promised not to extend the territory of Afghanistan at the expense of Bukhara. See AFGANSKOYE RAZGRANICHENIYE. PEREGOVORY MEZHDU ROSSIYEY I VELIKOBRITANIYEY 1872-1855 GG, Part 2, St.P., 1886, pp.2-25.

(17) The author of the present article will not linger over the relation of the ruling circles of Russia towards India 1875-84 since this question has been thoroughly analysed in A.L. Narochnitskiy's work KOLONIAL'NAYA POLITIKA KAPITALISTICHESKIKH DERZHAV NA DAL'NEM VOSTOKE 1860-1895, Moscow, 1957, pp.217-21. Apart from this it is dealt with in the article by E. Steynberg mentioned above (pp.57-62).

(18) The details of an interesting mission sent by the head of the Namdkhari sect are given in N.A. Khalfin's article "Posol'stvo Baba-Ram-Singkha v Turkestane v 1879 godu", SOVETSKOYE VOSTOKOVEDENIYE, 1957, No.2, pp.153-8.

(19) DNEVNIKI PUTESHESTVIY V INDIYU I BIRMU. I.P. Minayev, Moscow, 1955, p.58.

(20) M. Terent'yev, op.cit., Vol.1, p.232; Vol.2, p.317; Vol.3, p.140.

(21) CAN RUSSIA INVADE INDIA? H.B. Hanna, Westminster, 1895, p.2.

(22) TETRADI PO IMPERIALIZMU. V.I. Lenin, Moscow, 1939, p.621.

(23) CHAY, MIROVAYA TORGOVLYA CHAYEM I VOPROS O KAZENNOY CHAYNOY MONOPOLII V ROSSII. N. Kolomiytsev, Moscow, 1916, p.35.

(24) THE CIVIL AND MILITARY GAZETTE, 15th May 1907.

(25) Report on Indo-Russian Trade: Supplement to the Report. D. Chadwick, G. Black, Simla, 1917, p.10. Facts on the value of Russian exports are given for the British financial year.

(26) Ibid., p.9.

(27) Ibid., p.24.

(28) See VELIKIYE ZHELEZNYYE I MORSKIYE PUTI BUDUSHCHEGO. M. Pavlovich, St.P., 1913. The book deals with the plan for the trans-Persian railway.

APPENDIX

List of Archive Material used by O.F. Solov'yev

(1) Arkhiv vneshney politiki Rossii, f. St.P., Glavnyy arkhiv.
" " " f. Sredneaziatskiy stol
" " " f. Kantselyariya.
" " " f. Genkonsul'stvo Kal'kutty.

(2) Tsentral'nyy gosudarstvennyy istoricheskiy arkhiv v Leningrade.

(3) Neudavsheyesya posol'stvo v Bukharu poruchika Gaverdovskogo v 1803 g. B.g., b.m., pp.9-13, V. Vodop'yanov.

(4) Letter from the President of the Council of Ministers, Kokovtsev, to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Sazonov, dated 11th March 1913.

THE BORDERLANDS OF SOVIET CENTRAL ASIA

THE PROBLEM OF NATIONAL LANGUAGES IN INDIA

The following is an abridged translation of an article by A.M. D'yakov published in SOVETSKOYE VOSTOKOVEDENIYE, 1958, No.3, under the title of "The Problem of the Development of the National Languages of the Peoples of India".

The article is of particular interest in view of the opinions previously expressed by Soviet indologists on the subject of Hindi as the State language for India. The selection of one language for this purpose has hitherto been roundly condemned (see CENTRAL ASIAN REVIEW, Vol.V, No.4, p.420) as was at one time the approach of Congress to the subject of the linguistic states (see CAR, ibidem, p.403). A line entirely different from D'yakov's views of 1952 on the latter point was first developed in A.A. Mishin's GOSUDARSTVENNYY STROY INDII published in 1956 (see CAR, ibidem, p.403).

D'yakov is an established Soviet authority on Indian affairs, but it seems likely that he may not be well versed in Indian languages. If he were he could hardly support the view that Hindi is spoken by 40 per cent of the population of India. Apart from this his description of Indian languages is reasonably sound and would probably have been accepted by a real scholar such as Barannikov.

D'yakov's comments on the damaging influence of English on Indian languages and his eagerness that Hindi should be substituted for it are startling when the systematic Soviet attempts to russianize Central Asian languages and promote the study of Russian are taken into consideration.

The literary traditions of India are very ancient, and hieroglyphs, which are still undeciphered, have been found in the Indus valley at Mohenjo-Daro and Harappa testifying that Indian peoples possessed a written language as early as the third to second millennium B.C. Later on Vedic literature appeared ,

and in the last centuries B.C. and the first centuries A.D. a rich literature in Sanskrit. With the growth of Jainism and Buddhism a literature began to flourish in the middle-Indian languages, and was especially rich in the Pali language.

The basic literary language of Hindu Brahmins was Sanskrit, while Arabic and Persian were used in Muslim states. In the Middle Ages, as in antiquity, the Indus-Ganges valley, and particularly the region between the rivers Ganges and Jamna, was economically the most developed region of India and therefore began to play a leading part in the cultural life of the country. This vast area with its population of many millions contained a large number of languages and dialects which, according to Amir Khosrow and Abul Fazl, were already in existence in the fourteenth to fifteenth centuries. Many modern linguists, both British and Indian, subdivide these dialects into groups, defining each group of dialects as a language. They consider that there are five such languages: Western Hindi, Eastern Hindi (the dialects of the eastern part of the modern state Uttar Pradesh and of Maddhiya Pradesh), Bihari (dialects of Bihar), Rajastani (dialects of the extreme south-west which are spoken in Rajastan and which form an intermediary link between Hindi and Gujerati) and Pahari (a group of dialects in the foothills of the Himalayas). This classification, which reflects traditional points of view, is very artificial. There is, for example, no single Bihari language, but only a group of Bihari dialects; and the subdivision of Hindi into western and eastern too is very arbitrary. It is therefore only possible to speak of three languages as having existed and as still in existence: Hindi (western and eastern), Rajastani and Pahari, which are subdivided into a number of dialects. Western Hindi, for example, includes the Khari Boli dialect, otherwise known as Hindustani, which is the most westerly dialect, and is an intermediary link between Hindi and Punjabi. This dialect is encountered in the eastern regions of the Punjab, in Delhi, in the state Uttar Pradesh in the regions in which the economic and cultural centres were the towns Meerut and Aligarh, and in Rohikand - Braj, or as it is popularly called - Braj Bhasha. This is the dialect of the Agra, Muttra and Etawah areas, and it is also current in the former principalities of Bharatpur, Karauli and in the southern part of Gwalior. Further east, between the rivers Ganges and Jamna, the Kanauji dialect is spoken, and still further east in Bundelkand - the Bundeli dialect. Eastern Hindi, or Purabi, subdivides into the following dialects: Awadhi, Bagheli and Chattisgarhi. Awadhi is used in the Lucknow-Allahabad region.

There are three different dialects of Bihari: Bhajpuri, Magadhi and Maithili, which differ considerably from each other and actually lie midway between Hindi and Bengali. Rajastan contains a large number of dialects of which Marwari, Mewari and Mewati are the most important. Pahari embraces two large groups of dialects, the western and the eastern; later on, one of the

dialects of eastern Pahari developed into the national language of Nepal - Nepali. Many of the above dialects also possessed a written literary form. The first literary works in the Khari Boli dialect date from the fourteenth century A.D. One of the spoken forms of this dialect - Zaban-i-Urdu (the camp language) which was most used by the population of the Ganges basin in everyday life, served as the basis of a special literary written language - Urdu - which used the Arabic script. An important literature grew up in Urdu, which was mainly popular at court, and gradually this new language began to replace Persian.

Even before the rising of 1857-59 newspapers in India appeared in the local languages: Bengali, Hindi, Gujerati and Tamil. The first Bengali papers date from 1818, the Tamil from 1830. At the same time the first newspapers appeared in Gujerati. The literature and press of that period, however, used the old literary languages, which had been formed in the Middle Ages and were but little understood by the people of the nineteenth century. The Bengali papers were published in Sadhu-Bhasha, the Tamil in Sentamil, etc.

In Bengal the new bourgeoisie began to fight against the mediaeval way of life which hindered the development of capitalist relations. This opposition is linked first and foremost with the name of Rammohan Roy, who organized the Brahma Samaj society in Bengal. The society set itself the task of modernizing Hinduism and adapting it to the needs of a capitalist community. Its activities were not limited to Bengal but spread to Gujerat and other parts of India.

The press in various Indian languages was expanding and literature growing. Later on, early in the twentieth century, a movement for the creation of so-called "linguistic provinces" began; it envisaged the unification of all the territories whose population spoke the same tongue.

National languages develop as a rule on the basis of those dialects which have begun to predominate in the chief cultural centres of the different districts. Owing to the peculiarities of the economic, historical and cultural development of the various peoples of India and the variety of dialects, the process of forming national languages took place in each case in its own way. This process was sometimes complicated by the presence of literary forms, some of which are not used nowadays, while others still remain. However the general tendency was to establish a national language on the basis of the most highly developed dialect used in the chief cultural centre of a region. In Bengal for example the dialect of the Calcutta district - Chalit Bhasha - is at last predominating; there are, however, still considerable differences in the grammatical structure of the spoken and literary languages. And together with Chalit Bhasha, which was finally established as the literary language by Tagore, the language of the press and of the sciences

is still mainly the former literary language Sadhu Bhasha.

Three literary forms of the Marathi language existed in the Middle Ages; these developed on the basis of Konkani, i.e. the dialect of the Konkani coast. In the nineteenth century the Deshi dialect, i.e. the Poona vernacular served as a basis for the national language, as a result of which the literary form of Deshi has definitely ousted all other forms. Today even in the speech of educated people a strong nasal pronounciation of vowels, as in the Konkani dialect, is considered incorrect.

The Khari Boli dialect spread in the nineteenth century to all the towns of the present Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Rajastan and Madhya Pradesh states. Two written and two literary forms evolved based on this dialect: Urdu, which employs the Arabic script and borrows terms from Persian and Arabic, and Hindi which uses the Devanagari script and Sanskrit as the source of its scientific terminology. There is a very considerable difference between the literary forms of Urdu and Hindi, but the spoken tongue is the same; it is not overloaded either by Perso-Arabic or by Sanskrit terms, and is close to the Khari Boli of the countryside, which is spoken in several areas of Uttar Pradesh and the Punjab.

At the same time such dialects as Braj, Awadhi, Bhojpuri and others continue to flourish in domestic life, and efforts have even been made to revive literature in Maythili and Marwari. The most persistent champion in the nineteenth century for the introduction of the Khari Boli dialect into all fields of Hindi literature was the well-known playwright, essayist and poet Bharatinda Harishchandra. The above-mentioned dialects, however, exist to the present day and together with other circumstances, such as insufficient economic development and a system of education which has not been fully reorganized, hinder the further consolidation of Hindi as a national language. A still greater hindrance is the presence of two literary forms originating in the same dialect - modern literary Urdu and Hindi.

With certain other peoples, both forms of whose national tongue (the spoken and the written) originate from the same dialect but differ considerably from one another mainly in vocabulary, a process of rapprochment between the literary and the spoken language has begun. Thus through the admixture of living spoken forms the vocabulary of literary Telegu, Malayalam and Ariyah, in which there were a large number of Sanskrit words, is being renewed. This is also happening to the literary languages of Tamil and Canarese, which used to abound in ancient forms barely intelligible to the people.

The consolidation of the various national languages of India has been very uneven, just as the formation of the peoples of India into nations has

been far from uniform. The development of the country was hindered by its colonial status. Whereas such peoples as the Bengali, Tamil, Maratha, Oriya and Gujerati began to form into nations early in the nineteenth century, the Malayalam and Canarese only started at the end of the nineteenth century, and the Punjabis and Kashmiris have only begun to develop into nations since the nineteen thirties. In Hindustan, the territory where Hindi and Urdu are the predominant languages, the process is still not completed. "One of the important features of a national language, in which it differs from a popular tongue, is the multiplicity of functions which it acquires owing to the necessity of satisfying the growing and more complicated needs of society. A national language must immediately react to the development of literature, science, technology etc. The long colonial enslavement of India hindered the full development of her languages, and in particular the predominance of English prevented the writing of scientific works in Indian languages and the growth of a scientific terminology."

In all the languages of India there developed a rich literature, and in particular in the nineteenth century there appeared a realistic prose reflecting contemporary conditions. Such writers as Tagore in Bengal, Prem Chand in the United Provinces, Bharati in Tamilnad, Vallathol in Kerala, Hari Narayan Apti in Maharashtra and Fakir Mohan Senapati in Orissa played an important part in the development of literature and the literary language of their peoples. Scientific literature, however, barely existed in the majority of Indian languages. With the exception of certain research works on language and literature, all the text books for secondary schools, popular scientific publications and all other scientific publications were in English. This also influenced the vocabulary of the Indian languages, for while they have developed in other fields, most of the languages of India did not evolve a technical or scientific terminology. "There is no doubt, however, that any language of India can develop to such a degree that it will cover all aspects of social life and will become a means of expression of scientific thought in every field of knowledge. It is generally known that certain men of letters in Maharashtra and Bengal wrote in their own languages. The eminent Marathi historian Radjava-Gandi did not write a single work in English. The works of Gandhi - sometimes on very complicated philosophical subjects - were written in Gujerati. Tagore wrote his essays and philosophical works in Bengali. Some Bengali professors taught physics and higher mathematics in Bengali."

The recognition by the Indian constitution of the equality of national languages contributes to their further development. Among the fourteen recognized languages of India the least spoken is Malayalam, but even this is spoken by thirteen million people, that is by many more than any of the Scandinavian languages. "Naturally, in these circumstances the problem of the State or inter-national language of India is very complicated. It cannot be solved immediately since, as a result of a long colonial bondage, none of the

languages of India has in the whole course of her historical development ever become an inter-national language." Hindi is undoubtedly the only Indian language which could perform the role of the State inter-national language of India. It is spoken by at least 40 per cent of the population of India, and is understood by many more. As Jawaharlal Nehru has said, Hindi is akin to the tongues of north India, while the peoples of south India can master it much more easily than any of the European languages. Together with the dissemination of Hindi in regions where the population does not speak the language, efforts will be made to develop the language itself, for only then will people who do not speak Hindi feel that a knowledge of the language will help them in scientific and other studies.

At the last conference of the Congress Party the language problem occupied a prominent place. The conference was obliged to admit the failure of attempts made during the past ten years to substitute Hindi for English, and it decided to continue the use of English as the official language even after 1965 when, according to an earlier decision, English should have ceased to be considered as the official language of the country. At the same time, in the speeches of many delegates, and in particular in that of the head of the Government Jawaharlal Nehru, public attention was drawn to the fact that all the languages of the states should be recognized as national languages, and that the introduction of Hindi as the State language would be in no way damaging to individual state languages.

Nehru also came to the defence of Urdu and stressed its great importance as one of the basic languages of India. He declared that the adoption of Hindi should take place gradually and on a voluntary basis. In the districts where Hindi is the local language some other Indian tongue should be introduced into the school curriculum. The delegates particularly stressed the necessity for closer contact between the north and the south and for the study in the north of India of southern languages. This approach to the problem promises considerable success in the dissemination of Hindi, and in the replacement of English with the languages of the states and with Hindi as an inter-national language.

THE BORDERLANDS OF SOVIET CENTRAL ASIA

NEWS DIARY

AFGHANISTAN, INDIA, PAKISTAN, PERSIA, SINKIANG

The following diary includes items from newspapers and periodicals received during the period July-September 1958 inclusive. In view of the variety of sources from which the information has been collected contradictions may occur; no responsibility can be taken for the accuracy of the information given but the source is quoted for each item.

The following abbreviations have been used throughout:

D	Druzhba
FET	Far East Trade
KP	Kazakhstanskaya Pravda
P	Pravda
PV	Pravda Vostoka
SV	Sovetskoye Vostokovedeniye
T	The Times
TI	Turkmenskaya Iskra

AFGHANISTAN

August

6th. The Kabul football team arrived in Ashkhabad after playing matches in Tashkent and Stalinabad. (TI. 7.8.58)

Soviet and Chinese artists visited Kabul for the celebration of the fortieth anniversary of Afghanistan's independence. (P. 25.8.58)

A group of Soviet sportsmen has arrived in Afghanistan. (P. 30.8.58)

September

3rd. The President of the Government of Czechoslovakia, William Shiroky, arrived in Kabul for a visit. (P. 2.9.58)

30th. President Voroshilov set out for Afghanistan to pay a week's visit at the invitation of Muhammad Zahir Shah. (P. 1.10.58)

INDIA

April — This year the Soviet State Publishing House for Literature is to bring out a number of works by Indian writers including Prem Chand, R. Tagore, B. Barm and others. Collections of stories and poems will also be published.(SV. 1958, No.2)

July — A delegation of the Youth Congress of India visiting the Soviet Union has arrived in Uzbekistan. (P. 7.7.58)

The Indian Institute of Technology in Bombay, which has received considerable Russian aid under UNESCO and which has 20 Russian professors on its staff, has started work. (FET. July 1958)

A group of Indian specialists led by the Deputy Minister of Trade and Industry visited the Soviet Union from the 15th June to the 10th July. (P. 11.7.58)

A collection of Indian poems translated into Russian is to be published in honour of the Tashkent Conference of Writers from African and Asian Countries. (PV. 6.7.58)

A delegation of Indian women visited the Soviet Union at the invitation of the Committee of Soviet Women; among other things the delegation studied the position of women in Uzbekistan and Tadzhikistan. (PV. 20.7.58)

August — 3rd. A delegation of Soviet specialists arrived in Delhi to discuss with Indian representatives questions connected with the development of India's pharmaceutical industry. (P. 4.8.58)

Indian members of parliament made a week's visit to the Soviet Union on the occasion of the opening of the new Moscow-Delhi air service. (P. 23.8.58)

India has signed a contract with Czechoslovakia to the value of Rs.100m. (about £7,500,000) for the supply of machinery and equipment for the proposed State-owned foundry at Bihar. (T. 20.8.58)

A coal distillation plant and coke oven, a mining machinery factory, and an optical glass factory are to be built with Russian assistance at Durgapur, West Bengal. (FET.August 1958)

About 50,000 sewing machines are being sold to Yugoslavia under a contract secured by the Indian State Trading Corporation, which is also negotiating with East European countries for the export of other goods, such as electric fans and motors. (FET.August 1958)

September

Two complete cement factories are to be set up by a Czech firm. One will have a daily capacity of 350 tons, and the other 200 tons. (FET.September 1958)

21st. An eminent Indian scholar, Professor C.P. Mahalanobis, arrived in Moscow at the invitation of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR. (P. 24.9.58)

PAKISTAN

August

22nd. A dinner was given in honour of the Speaker of the Pakistan National Assembly - Abdul-Vakhab-Khan during his visit to the Soviet Union. (P. 23.8.58)

A trade agreement between Pakistan and Czechoslovakia, first signed on 15th August 1956, has been extended for a further year, until 14th August 1959. Pakistan will receive mainly machinery from Czechoslovakia. (FET. October 1958)

8th. An agreement has been signed with Poland for the exchange of cotton against coal. (FET. October 1958)

PERSIA

July

3rd. Notes have been exchanged in Tehran between the Soviet Embassy and the Persian Minister of Foreign Affairs on the ratification of the protocols on the demarcation and and redemarcation of the Soviet-Persian frontier drawn up on the 2nd December 1954. (P. 7.7.58)

The Uzbek department of the Civil Air Force has sent aeroplanes to Persia to help fight the locust plague. (PV. 4.7.58)

4th. Radio Moscow announced that the Ulama of Azerbaydzhan has invited Ayatollah Borujerdi, the spiritual leader of the "Twelver" Shiites, living in the Persian town of Qom, to visit the Soviet republics with a Muslim population. (ETTEL'AT - airmail edition 5.7.58)

September — A group of senators and deputies of the Persian majlis is visiting the Soviet Union. (P. 17.9.58)

SINKIANG

July — 1st. Operations for the opening of the section of the Lanchow-Sinkiang railway from Lanchow to Sulekha have begun. The section is about 900 km. long. The railway has already reached the territory of Sinkiang. (D. No.35, 1958)

September — Basket- and volley-ball players from Kazakhstan are on a visit to Sinkiang. (KP. 12.9.58)

THE SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS OF KAZAKHSTAN, UZBEKISTAN, TADZHIKISTAN, KIRGIZIA AND TURKMENISTAN

100 0 100 200 300 km.

Chelyabinsk
Troitsk
Petropavlovsk
Omsk
Barnaul
Ufa
Magnitogorsk
Kartaly
Tobol
Kustanay
Kokchetav
Shchuchinsk
Stepnyak
Makinsk
Pavlodar
Kuybyshev
Mikhaylovka
Rubtsovsk
Leninogorsk
Ust'-Kamenogorsk
Zyryanovsk
Zaysan
Semipalatinsk
Yesil'
Atbasar
Akmolinsk
Chkalov
Uralsk
Orsk
Temir-Tau
Karaganda
Karkaralinsk
Ayaguz
Akhtyubinsk
Kandagach
Turgay
Temir
Irgiz
Dzhezdy
Mointy
Balkhash
Stalingrad
Volga
Don
Tsaritsyn
Tikhoretsk
Gur'yev
Dossor
Emba
Chelkar
Aral'sk
Dzhezkazgan
Baykonur
Taldy-Kurgan
Tekeli
Kul'dzha
Panfilov
Astrakhan
Stavropol'
Kuma
Kazalinsk
Dzhusaly
Kzyl-Orda
Chu
Alma-Ata
Przhevalsk
Issyk
Fort Shevchenko
Kizlyar
Terek
Dzaudzhikau
Groznyy
Frunze
Kant
Tokmak
Rybachye
Chulak-Tau
Dzhambul
Turkestan
Talas
Chimkent
Lenger
Naryn
Kok-Yangak
Dzhalal-Abad
Batumi
Tbilisi
Kungrad
Chimbay
Nukus
Takhta-Tash
Tashauz
Urgench
Turtkul'
Khiva
Tashkent
Yangi-Yul
Chirchik
Namangan
Andizhan
Kokand
Fergana
Osh
Kashgar
Yarkand
Yerevan
Baku
Kura
Makhachevan'
Tabriz
Krasnovodsk
Nebit-Dag
Kazandzhik
Kyzyl-Arvat
Mirzachul'
Leninabad
Isfara
Dzhizak
Ura-Tyube
Gizhduvan
Bukhara
Kagan
Katta-Kurgan
Samarkand
Penzhikent
Chardzhou
Shakhrisyabz
Karshi
Navabad
Sarm
Regar
Stalinabad
Kulyab
Nizhni Pyandzh
Khorog
Murgab
Dengau
Ashkhabad
Kerki
Bayram-Ali
Mary
Tedzhen
Iolotan'
Bosaga
Termez
Meshed
Tehran
Kushka
Herat
Kabul
CASPIAN SEA
ARAL SEA
TURKMENISTAN
UZBEKISTAN
KIRGIZIA
TADZHIKISTAN
KAZAKHSTAN
TURKEY
IRAN
AFGHANISTAN
PAKISTAN
CHINA
INDIA

Borders of the U.S.S.R.
Limits of Union Republics.
Capitals of Union Republics.
Railways.
Canals.
Canals under construction or projected.
Sands.
Main arterial road with pass.

J.P. 1956.

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INTER-REPUBLICAN FRONTIERS

Sketch-map showing the inter-republican frontiers of Uzbekistan, Tadzhikistan and Kirgizia, and the interlacing of their territories in the neighbourhood of the Fergana Valley region.

TADZHIKISTAN

KAZAKHSTAN

UZBEKISTAN

KIRGIZIA

FOREIGN TERRITORY Afghanistan & China

The above map shows the area covered by CENTRAL ASIAN REVIEW in relation to the rest of t
The total extent of the area is about 1½ million sq. miles. According to the latest available figures the total
is 20,900,000 of whom about 13 millions are estimated to be indigenous.

The total area of what is generally regarded as Soviet Asia i.e. the Urals Region, Eastern and Western Siber
Soviet Far East, is approximately 8 million sq. miles and the population about 37 millions of whom about 7 m
estimated to be indigenous. Thus, whilst Central Asia and Kazakhstan together occupy less than one fifth of the
of Soviet Asia, their indigenous population amounts to about two thirds of the total indigenous population of
of Soviet Asia.

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